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Visually Constructing Citizenship: Photography, Race and Immigration Policy in America

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Introduction

In 1923, the Supreme Court decided *United States v. Bhagat Singh Thind*, in which a high-caste Hindu Indian immigrant sought naturalization on the basis of ethnological evidence that high-class Hindus were of the Aryan race. The Court, however, denied Thind's request for citizenship based on their understanding that he was not a White person because of his physical features, which apparently

> *render[ed Hindus] readily distinguishable from the various groups of persons in this country commonly recognized as white. The children of English, French, German, Italian, Scandinavian, and other European parentage, quickly merge into the mass of our population and lose the distinctive hallmarks of their European origin. On the other hand, it cannot be doubted that the children born in this country of Hindu parents would retain indefinitely the clear evidence of their ancestry...What we suggest is...racial difference, and it is of such character and extent that the great body of our people instinctively recognize it and reject the thought of assimilation.*[1]

The Court thereby established a visually, not scientifically, based "common sense" jurisprudence for determining whether or not an individual satisfied citizenship's racial requirements. Therefore to be American is to be recognized as White, and although the Court also admitted that the term Caucasian was synonymous with being White, certain physical features had to be present for the privilege of naturalization. Working within the Court's assertion that racial classifications are based on popularly-held visualizations, photography is of real importance if we consider how the medium conveys visually-based understandings of race and citizenship. Because of photograph's unique ability to convey "recycled" reality, as Susan Sontag (1977) claims, it's power in supporting 'common sense' understandings of racial categories relates to the way it was used by various kinds of phony sciences that established racial hierarchies under which modernity operates. In a project of nation building, states utilize photography in this way to construct rubrics for

determining eligibility for naturalization, which produced national identity based on communal affinities of its citizenry. This project of forging national identity is was that is ongoing, and creates the impetus for the immigration debate in terms of deciding who can be let into the national community and who should excluded for the common good. Due to the fact that in the United States race and national origin have always been factors that were central to this question, visuals become one of the most significant aspects in assessing whether or not an individual is a desirable American citizen.

A nation's immigration policy addresses these concerns by fashioning a set of legal restrictions that determine who may be excluded from obtaining citizenship and thereby legally belonging to that particular nationality. Because of American policy's exceptional investment in racial categories, immigration policy is thoroughly informed by the process by which visuals dictate the formulating of racial categories within the American nation. Additionally, because immigration policy has also been invested in determining racial hierarchies, i.e. the value of one race over another, photography was a key tool in creating class identities as inherently linked with racial identities. Ascendant bourgeoisies and elites in general with a "possessive investment in Whiteness,"[2] as American Studies scholar George Lipsitz claims, maintained their status by disseminating images of 'othered' groups lacking the privilege of first-class citizenship so as to understand 'others' that represented the lack of privilege. Immigration policy has always established a fundamental bond between Whiteness and 'desirability' in terms of national inclusion, although it has always necessitated the naturalization of different groups considered non-White for the exercise of first-class citizenship as opposed to the existence of equal rights for all citizens. Thus immigration policy is historically

concerned with racial formations and the outer limits of White identity at a given time, whether in the U.S.' first naturalization law in 1790 that proclaimed all "free White persons" could naturalize, or in the consistent stripping of non-White citizens of their rights and the current xeno-racism, as xenophobia is directed towards immigrants of color, prevalent in today's immigration cogitation.

The process of linking citizenship with imagery is one that Benedict Anderson observes in his seminal work *Imagined Communities* (1983). He indicates that citizens of a nation hold in their imaginations an image of the national norm, which represents communal somatic affinity. I am interested in how photography assembles this mental picture and how it marks non-Northwestern European immigrants as un-American 'others' not legally deserving of citizenship and the rights it confers. Photographing these groups and positioning those photographs in popular media as foreign in some way means that photography is also devoted to the power relations that necessitate the dissemination of images of non-Americans, or individuals who do not represent American values, to construct a distinction and comparison between Americans and non-Americans. I claim that photographs of immigrants, and indeed citizens who do not adhere to the American norm, are therefore productions that uphold the state's power in legally conferring rights and privileges to those who adhere to the norm and in legally restricting access to those rights and privileges for those who do not. Furthermore, because the state relies so heavily on photographic documentation to organize its citizenry (those accepted as within the national body), photography is also relied on to document, and in fact produce, racial difference and physical 'truths.'

In this light, formulating a nation's immigration policy emerges as a project profoundly invested in visual imagery to cement depictions of different races in the popular imagination that correlate with 'good' or 'bad' potential American citizens. As such, the story of immigration takes the form of a visual narrative that ideologically constructs the somatic boundaries of what an American citizen looks like. Therefore, studying photographs of immigrants and the manner in which they were deployed for public consumption is a project of examining racial formations in America, the process by which disparate groups merge in the accepted national affinity at specific times in history.

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[1] 261 U.S. 204 (1923), 214-215, cited in Bill Ong Hing, *Defining American Through Immigration Policy* (Philadelphia: Temple UP, 2004), p. 264.
[2] George Lipsitz, *Possessive Investment in Whiteness: How White People Profit from Identity* Politics (Philadelphia: Temple UP, 2006).

Theoretical Framework

This project is an inquiry into how American citizenship has come to be visualized and why the question of who is a citizen is inherently a visual question. Anderson (1983) indicates that citizens of a nation hold in their imaginations an image of the national norm that represents communal affinity and belonging. This affinity, "nation-ness," is "assimilated to skin-colour, gender, parentage and birth-era – all those things one can not help." Anderson continues, "in those "natural ties" one sense what one might call "the beauty of the gemeinschaft," or the community. To put it another way," he clarifies, "precisely because such ties are not chosen, they have about them a halo of disinteredness."[1] Essentially this "disinteredness" evinces itself as the heteropatriarchal[1] norms of American society: as critical legal scholar Mari Matsuda states, "everyone has a gender, but the hidden norm…is male…everyone has a race, but the hidden norm…is white."[2] While we may struggle with Anderson's definition of citizenship as problematic in this light, Linda Bosniak (2000) has delineated four separate conceptions of the 'citizenship': one communicating legal status, another conferring rights, a third demonstrating political activity and engagement, and a fourth illustrating a collective cultural identity. I conceive of these four categories as coalescing around the meaning of a legal and sentimental sense of 'belonging.' Thus this project is also an enquiry into how the images examined relate to the fact that popular discourse grants legal belonging to some groups, but does not encourage sentimental belonging but rather negates the rights of citizenship so as to detach groups from norms of national identity.

[1] See Ferguson (2004) for an in-depth a definition of heteropatriarchy and heteropatriarchal norms. For my purposes, heteropatriarchy connotes the hierarchical way in which cultural norms are conceived of in American society. Customs of White, heterosexual males are normalized, engendering a standard to which all other groups are compared.

Mental pictures of American-ness thus permeate social and discursive interactions. This vision is at once proposed and reflected by mass media and popular culture. I am interested in how popular culture deploys photography to concretize this mental picture and thus reifies the status quo of state and bourgeoisie hegemony. Consequently, the active role photography plays in imagining groups of non-Whites as permanently foreign or un-American even though citizenship has been granted for generations is also of interest. In this way, my research falls in line with Coco Fusco's declaration that photography is "an ongoing social, cultural, and political project" because it has the effect of either legitimizing or defeating an individual's personal claim to an American identity.[3] Therefore, claiming an American identity requires visual evidence of shared cultural norms, and like Stuart Hall's assessment of culture, photography is as well a site of active production that generates power relations. Thus studying photographs is an epistemological mission: the particular sets of photographs in this project create knowledge of immigrants in the national space where knowledge did not exist before, as when an individual has never personally seen a place, person or thing but can speak and think about it as if she or he had. Photography thereby creates a "link between seeing and knowing."[4] This extends to the claim that photographs produce nationality, ethnicity, religion, gender and even linguistic traits as also visualizable. Indeed, as Fusco writes, "rather than recording the existence of race, photography produced race as a visualizable fact," and, as Ardis Cameron contends, that race became a visualizable fact alongside the mass consumption of photography, photography also deteremines who its subjects are "and how they take on meaning as citizens and as Americans."[5,6] As such, "how people are *seen*" signifies the visual production of a

subject's identity as always envisioned next to what they are not, and the corresponding possibility of incorporating the subject into the American national body.[7]

In this way, images have historically served to engender certain visions of different populations, understanding some as American, or potentially American, and others as permanently foreign. In the United States, immigration policy has operated by employing photographs as organizational tools to group specific nationalities into racial clusters to determine eligibility for citizenship. It is important to note that although we may view racial categories, such as Asian, Black, White or Latin@ as salient and intelligible, there is nothing natural about these groupings, as Omi & Winant's canonical *Racial Formations* (1986) shows. Instead, certain tools of national ordering, like the Census for example, construct these categories out of thin air in a nationalist mission to solidify an American identity. Thus the process of exclusion from citizenship has included a process of racialization. According to Omi & Winant, racialization indicates a process by which certain forces, social, economic and political, create strict racial categories and infuse them with importance and meaning, like eligibility for citizenship. My project is to expose one of these forces as the genre of immigration photography. Like Jessica Evans (1999), I am interested in the ways in which photography creates knowledge and how this knowledge maintains existing power relations of domination and subordination. [8] Although I recognize that photography can be powerfully utilized to challenge the hegemony of the dominant, the particular cases I have chosen speak to the ways in which images can be employed to solidify hegemony because of their situation in immigration discourse. In this way a photograph's position in mass media creates a site

of cultural production, and the photographs I examine demonstrate how cultural production can serve the interests of the state.

The role of mass media and technology in this regard is tremendously significant, as these tools have the power to disseminate particular viewpoints concerning who an American citizen is and what she or he looks like. Anderson's discussion of the printing press' function in nationalism is useful here and can be applied to the utility of technology in general in disseminating visions of national identity. The concept of "print-capitalism" is especially relevant because it recognizes the power relations in the foundation of nationalism, as only capitalist entrepreneurs could effectively propagate their views using resources available to them. Anderson argues that the novel and the newspaper especially (and perhaps he would say the internet as well) "provided the technical means for 're-presenting' the *kind* of imagined community that is the nation."[9] This visual 're-presentation' also is concerned with the mass consolidation of language the printing press allowed, which streamlined the linguistic variation that had previously existed in America, "elevat[ing]" this one vernacular "to a new politico-cultural eminence."[10] Thus the large-scale dissemination of language that the printing press put into effect also created a linguistic hierarchy that played a critical role in formulating national identity.

This contention is of special import in developing an understanding of speech hierarchies, and the positioning of a 'standard' English as a desired national norm, even though relatively few citizens may actually speak that 'standard.'[11] Linguistic standarization can metaphorically act to represent the visual standardization of the American normative subject. This analysis of printing press can be extended to my

examination of ICE's website as a space between the state and civil society because, while it is officially representing the interests of the state, it also employs images and videos derived from private news organizations. Therefore, the examples I use are representative of Antonio Gramsci's (1971/1980) observations of the ways in which civil society supplies the cultural and ideological material, in this case photographs, for the continued hegemony of the state's capitalistic interests. However, my analysis strays from Gramsci's notion that civil society is counter-hegeomic: instead, I ally with Marx in viewing these particular cultural productions as reifying the socio-economic hegemony of the state and the interest of the bourgeoisie, thus maintaining the status quo with regard to the distribution of power and resources.[12] As Michael Parenti categorically states, "the Press does many things and serves many functions, but its major role, its irreducible responsibility is to continually recreate a view of reality supportive of existing social and economic class power."[13] The photographs I employ are situated within this framework that demonstrates the power of photography, as a type of press, to reify dominant ideologies of the state's hegemony.

The fact that these photographs were employed by popular magazines, newspapers and websites denotes what Gramsci (1971/1980) would term Western European cultural hegemony, as American citizenship is portrayed photographically as an individual who is notably of Western European ancestry and speaks English. Therefore, the elite establishes the physical norms of citizenship in a given society, here imag-ed and imagined as a Western European. Therefore, As Foucault (1977) indicates, photography "establishes over individuals a visibility through which one differentiates...and judges," thus the norms established are photographically juxtaposed with visual depictions of

difference.[14] In the photographs discussed in this project, it is clear that representations of 'normal' or 'average' American citizens is a role visually conferred to White Americans while images of deviant culture and difference from the norm is specifically symbolized by individuals of color. Thus emerges what Roderick Ferguson (1998) identifies as the standards of heteronormativity, i.e. White, patriarchal and heterosexual identity and modes of conduct that govern the norms of American society. We see these figures in the immigration officials at Ellis Island in Sherman's photographs, the border guards in *Life* Magazine, and images of ICE's agents. Rarely do these images of the norm deviate from the White male.

In Wendy Kozol's study of *Life* Magazine, she states that "rather than reflecting or recording reality, *Life*'s photo-essays created an imagined community through pictorial realism that naturalized a particular social form – the middle-class nuclear family – into a transhistorical ideal that symbolized the United States."[15] This statement essentially motivates this study in that I demonstrate how the three image sources, Sherman, *Life* and ICE, similarly position themselves as instruments of solidifying an imagined community through photography. While *Life* may seem to be more focused on the visualization of the American family, an analysis of Sherman's photographs will also prove highly concerned with the organization of immigrant families. Kozol's mentioning of pictorial realism also is significant to appreciate the unique capabilities of photography in institutionalizing this image of the American norm. Just as photo-realism maintains this image, it also has particular weight in legitimating phony sciences discussed in Chapter 1 such as Social Darwinism, eugenics, anthropometry and physiognomy.

As an instrument of visual production and therefore a site of struggle in regards to the representation of specific peoples, photography is therefore a key medium through which we can approach the question of how Americans imagine their national community. This vision coalesces into what Harry Hoetink terms the somatic norm image, which is "the complex of physical (somatic) characteristics that are accepted by a group as its norm and ideal."[16] Combining Hoetink and Anderson's philosophies leads us to conclude that this norm and ideal may represent the physical characteristics of a 'typical' citizen, which connotes belonging to a particular national body not only for that individual but for all those who resemble her and him in regards to physical features. However, like few speak 'standard' English there also may be relatively few Americans who actually represent this norm image.

The somatic norm image also relates to Hall's (1997) concept of the "frame of intelligibility," which is useful for considering the ways in which photographs are always carefully constructed representations of reality and do not communicate a singular truth, although they may appear to. According to Executive Director of the Applied Research Center Rinku Sen, frames themselves "are stories, symbols, metaphors and images that evoke the moral standards and aspirations of society."[17] Thus frames of intelligibility create the boundaries of the discourse that constructs the "moral standards and aspirations of society," a process which fixes meaning through language. Additionally, the practice of framing an issue is informed by certain discursive signifiers (Hall's term is 'signification') that, when combined and considered together, comprise the tools used to construct the representation of an issue. The mass media is an important conveyer of frames, as they adopt a practice of framing events or concepts strategically so that the

viewer understands the issue on particular terms, using particular vernacular as previously mentioned and emphasizing a specific viewpoint. Frames therefore construct a discourse that can be deployed in political and social spheres. In Hall's terms, a discourse is a process by which "a cluster of ideas, images and practices provide ways of talking about forms of knowledge and conduct associated with a particular topic, social activity or institutional site in society."[18] According to Claire Jean Kim (2000), effective frames often draw upon these discourses and their cultural values already in existence, and therefore 'resonate' with people's lived experience.

Frames also draw upon signifiers in their composition that lead the viewer to understand the image in particular ways. The environmental aspect of a photographic frame will be theorized as an important signal as to decoding a photograph's meaning. Again, the role of photography and culture in cooperating with the agenda of the state will be investigated with respect to how a photograph situates its subject in her or his environment. Compositionally, the framing of a photograph is important because it relies on elements besides the body of the subject to inform the viewer of the subject's identity. As such, aspects of a photograph's background will also be discussed throughout as encouraging specific readings of immigrant identities as eternally foreign and as lacking resources and agency.

These readings call to certain stereotypes of negative immigrants that emerge and resurface throughout this project, including: infantilization of the immigrant; the immigrant's threat to national norms and native labor forces; the 'public charge' discourse that states that immigrants are drains on American social programs like schools, hospitals and social security; and that immigrants are understood as 'outside' the

law, perpetual criminals who are culturally predisposed to criminality and hyper-promiscuity. These stereotypes, deployed towards different groups at different times, comprise the American 'scapegoat complex' that deems immigrants the cause of social problems. To a certain degree, these stereotypes are also reflected in the U.S. government's positioning the Border Patrol under the auspices of different departments throughout time: in 1924, it was created under the Department of Labor, echoing concerns that immigrants provided labor that was too cheap and flexible to compete with native labor forces. In 1940, the Border Patrol was placed under the supervision of the Department of Justice, situating immigration as a potential threat due to 'subversives' from wartime-enemy nations, and in 2003, it merged with the Immigration and Naturalization Services (INS) to form ICE in a post-September 11 moment where national security depended on the intensified surveillance of ports of entry.

The coding of immigrants as 'problems' also reifies their distance from the somatic norm image of American values associated with Whiteness and the Western European ideal. The visual evidence employed in this study demonstrates the process by which the somatic norm image may have entered popular culture and the imaginations of most of those who reside in the United States by way of photographs that convey a non-White subject's difference from its White counterpart. Two genres of photography that have profoundly influenced these notions are travel/colonial photography and immigration photography. I propose that while Sherman's photographs are definitively part of the immigrant photograph's type, those appearing in *Life* and on ICE's website could be considered colonial photography due to the fact that those Mexicans who inhabit the territory pictured were essentially colonized by virtue of the fact that they were not

given the full rights of citizenship after the conquering of land after the Mexican-American War. In the twenty-first century, Mexicans and Mexican Americans operate in the United States under virtually colonial realities in which one may legally acquire citizenship, residency or employment but not secure the benefits of first-class, or full-fledged, citizenship due to the public's understanding of them as 'illegal' presences in the American body. In studying *Life*'s images of Japanese internment, it is clear that this colonial paradigm could also be extended to Japanese Americans, as their physical segregation from the rest of California's population as well as the suspension of civil rights was sanctioned by the state.

Foucault (1977) and others have demonstrated that the emergence of the modern nation-state and immense waves of 'new' immigration (from places other than Northwestern Europe) occurred simultaneously. In understanding this relationship, I have chosen images from these three periods in American history to demonstrate how the construction of the American self has been divided from external bodies that do not align with the somatic norm image of the United States. Therefore, I intend to further Ono's & Sloop's (2002) aims of shedding light on the visual-rhetorical processes that construct images of citizen and foreigner in media representations of American communities of color. By examining three time periods in which images of citizens are pitted against those of aliens or those assumed to be aliens, we glimpse how the very terms 'alien' and 'citizen' carry with them representational images – somatic norm images of 'American' and 'other'. As Ono & Sloop (2002) contend, the rhetorical work these images do actually "*shifts* borders, changing what they mean publicly, influencing public policy, altering the ways borders affect people, and circumscribing political responses."[19] These

images formulate powerful metonymies that leave borders as markings of their existence: national borders as well as racial and ethnic borders between humans that categorize and divide. Borders also create the frames that govern the ways we interact with others, the 'frames of intelligibility' we utilize to inform behavioral and rhetorical norms that impact our understandings of what an American citizen looks like and what a foreigner looks like.

In this light, while this project addresses immigration policy from a legal narrative standpoint, by introducing photographs as essential disseminators of the state-ist discourse that divides citizens from foreigners it also acknowledges the importance of separating formal membership from cultural citizenship. It is in this arena of cultural citizenship that photography plays a key role in directing equal rights towards only those citizens who ascribe to the somatic norm image. In this way, this project recalls William V. Flores' astute observation that "this country's anti-immigrant hysteria deflects our attention from a simple reality: being a citizen guarantees neither full membership in society nor equal rights." He states that in order to be recognized as a full citizen, a first-class citizen, "one must be welcomed and accepted as a full member of the society with all of its rights."[20] A central contention of this project is that the acceptance of the exercise of citizenship rights of different groups is profoundly tied to the imagery of immigrants. The way in which those images are positioned in popular culture – in news media, magazines, television, on the internet – either scapegoat immigrants or conversely represent them as 'good' potential Americans decides when and if different immigrant groups are integrated into popular conceptions of American identity.

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[1] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London & New York: Verso, 1983), p. 143.

[2] Mari J. Matsuda, "Voices of America: Accent, Antidiscrimination Law, and a Jurisprudence for the Last Reconstruction." *The Yale Law Journal* 100.5 (1991), p. 1361.
[3] Coco Fusco and Brian Wallis, eds., *Only Skin Deep: Changing Visions of the American Self* (New York: International Center of Photography, 2003), p. 13.
[4] Jessica Evans, "Essentialism, Disability, Sexuality" in Jessica Evans and Stuart Hall, eds., *Visual Culture: the Reader* (London: Sage Publications, 1999), p. 278.
[5] Coco Fusco cited in Anna Pegler-Gordon, *In Sight of America: Photography and the Development of U.S. Immigration Policy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), p. 10.
[6] Ardis Cameron, ed., *Looking for America: The Visual Production of Nation and People* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), p. 2.
[7] Ibid., p. 2.
[8] Evans (1999).
[9] Anderson, p. 25.
[10] Ibid., p. 45.
[11] Matsuda (1991).
[12] Michael Edwards, *Civil Society* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004).
[13] Michael Parenti, *Inventing Reality: the Politics of the Mass Media* (New York: St. Martin's, 1986), p. 10
[14] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: the Birth of the Prison* (New York: Pantheon, 1977), p. 25.
[15] Wendy Kozol, *Life's America: Family and Nation in Postwar Photojournalism* in Ardis Cameron, ed., *Looking for America: The Visual Production of Nation and People* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), p. 190.
[16] Harry Hoetink, *The Dominican People, 1850-1900: Notes for A Historical Sociology* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1982), p. 247.
[17] Lecture, Vassar College, 12 November 2010.
[18] Stuart Hall, Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices (London: Sage Publications Ltd., 1997), p. 6.
[19] Kent A. Ono and John M. Sloop, *Shifting Borders: Rhetoric, Immigration, and California's Proposition 187* (Philadelphia: Temple UP, 2002), p. 5.
[20] William V. Flores, "Citizens v. Citizenry," in William Vincent Flores and Rina Benmayor, eds., *Latino Cultural Citizenship: Claiming Identity, Space, and Rights* (Boston: Beacon, 1997), p. 255.

Methodology

I have organized this project by interweaving immigration policy and imagery in order to show the interdependent relationship between creating the legal boundaries of citizenship and the ways non-citizens were imagined in popular culture. The photographs I employ in this study derive from multiple origins and were shot by a range of photographers. Chapter 1 explores the work of Augustus F. Sherman, an official at Ellis Island at the turn of the century, photographs shot between 1905 and 1920 on the Island and begins with an analysis of the particular socio-historical context in which they were received. Immigration policy before and after Sherman's activity is given special attention so as to imbue the photographs with a more specific historical and political understanding. These photographs were taken from a volume published in 2009 by *Aperture* entitled *Augustus F. Sherman: Ellis Island Portraits, 1905-1920.* They are currently owned by the Museum at Ellis Island. Additionally, they are selectively reprinted in one of the only thorough analyses of his photographs, Anna Pegler-Gordon's 2009 study, *In Sight of America: Photography and the Development of U.S. Immigration Policy.* Stylistically, photographs like Sherman's aimed to distinguish racial 'types' and thus served to delineate the races in the popular imagination, concretizing the American imagined affinity as one based distinctly on physical features that are represented visually.

Chapter 2 is dedicated to juxtaposing the experience of Japanese Americans in internment camps during World War II with that of Mexicans that enlisted in the Bracero Program (1942-1964). An analysis of photographs published in *Life* Magazine will shed light on how popular media imagined this transformation of the American Southwest that involved the supplanting of the Asian American labor force with a Mexican one and the

accompanying altering of spaces occupied by each group. The photographers of these series are unnamed by the magazine, except its issues on Japanese internees, photographed by Carl Mydans. *Life*'s archives were accessed using GoogleBooks, and three principal issues were relevant to my study: one from 20 March 1944, a second from 1 November 1948 and another from 15 February 1954. Depictions of Japanese American internees and Mexican braceros employ dominant discursive stereotypes that paint these two groups as manipulative and malicious criminals who break U.S. laws to access social benefits and wealth. While it is relevant to mention that there are certainly images that might have been available at the time that contradict these stereotypes, my interest is in examining how these images, as facets of popular culture, reinforce the interests of the state in separating Americans from foreigners. For this reason, *Life* is particularly interesting considering its role in creating a national norm, which will be discussed in Chapter 2.

Significantly, investigating the Immigration and Customs Enforcement's depiction of immigrants on their website has yielded remarkable similarities in imagery and the stereotypes it draws upon, and thus similarly constructs itself as representing an American community based on contrasting it with images of those the agency apprehends. Photographs and videos on ICE's website is Chapter 3's chief concern. Analyzing the relationship between videos' narration and imagery, I attempt to illuminate how ICE positions itself as a beacon of American law while employing extremely stereotypical images of immigrants. Portrayals of immigrants in ICE's propaganda do not differ greatly from those of immigrants and citizens of Latin@ and Asian descent we see in popular culture on the news or in print media, and in fact some independent news

broadcasts are utilized by ICE, which may comprise its political neutrality with regard to its role in upholding American law. Special attention is paid in this chapter to changes in the way the immigration dialectic is popularly understood and communicated in a post-September 11 context.

In my research process, I have found that dominant stereotypes that scapegoat different groups consistently emerge and re-emerge throughout American history, targeting citizens of color as well as immigrants alike. Some of these stereotypes present themselves as justifications for nativism and its political counterpoint, restrictionist immigration policy, as they paint immigrants as public charges, unhygienic and unintelligent groups whose race in the public imagination pre-determines these weaknesses and inadequacies. Arguments of biological determinism of inferior races has more recently evolved into a critique of non-Western cultures, a transition that indicates that although pseudosciences supposedly proving racial inferiority, its remnants are still very much a part of public and private discourses today. Other dominant themes in scapegoating people of color include their infantilization (and thus their tendency to necessitate a parental state to care for them), that they represent a kind of invasion that threatens American mores, and their permanent un-American-ness or foreigness regardless of citizenship status, and the urgency with which the immigration threat is narrated as one terrorizing national security. An important stereotype currently is that of the 'illegal alien,' which are terms I feel deny an immigrant's humanity and do not use in this project. The "stigma of being outside the law," as American anthropologist Renato Rosaldo writes, is a paradigm that I show has been applied to different groups of immigrants at different times.[1] While in the twenty-first century this illegality is

something that marks Latin@s within U.S. borders (American citizens and those of Central and South American nationalities alike), it has historically marked Asians and Asian Americans, Eastern and Southern Europeans, African Americans and Africans as well. These constant depictions that conflate citizens of color with immigrants denotes the degree to which American cultural citizenship "operates in an uneven field of structural inequalities" that revolve around the White (male) subject.[2]

All photographs I examine were produced in an official or semi-official capacity in that Augustus Sherman was an employee of the U.S. government and his photographs were widely distributed in popular magazines and newspapers, *Life*'s images were made by professional and photographers hired by the publication, and those on the Immigration and Customs Enforcement's website are produced by and for that agency. In some way all these images comprise part of popular culture due to the level of their distribution and semi-official character. Juxtaposing the claim that the photographs inform and are informed by the norms of popular culture with the fact that the thematic of these photographs both inherently and purposefully enter into a discourse about the very idea of citizenship and one's potential claim to it, these images comment on the intersections of the cultural and political spheres. Furthermore, since I have chosen to examine how representations of race relate to this debate, my discussion of these photographs of immigrants – i.e. potential citizens – will shed light on the relationship between the ability of certain groups, and not others, to access legal citizenship and ensure their social acceptance as part of the American community.

As the legal dicta that proscribe eligibility for citizenship quite often contradict the social acceptance of equal rights, it is valuable and interesting to investigate the

elements that may shape both the granting of legal citizenship and the popular acceptance of broad access to the rights it entails. The representations of individuals and their surroundings in the photographs I examine not only communicate how the photographer receives them in terms of that contradiction between legal citizenship and popular acceptance as part of the American community, but also demonstrates Stuart Hall's claim that representation "is closely tied up with both identity and knowledge," and that it is "difficult to know what 'being English,' or indeed French, German, South African or Japanese, means outside of all the ways in which our ideas and images of national identity or national cultures have been represented."[3] Put another way, the method a photographer selects to represent his or her subject comprises a "signifying system" that highlights traits that identify the subject and her or his culture. In the cases I examine, individual subjects are often meant to exist as metonyms – 'types' – for other people of the same racial or ethnic group: portraits of individuals stand in for the 'unending waves' of immigrants that have transformed and contributed to the American nation over time, creating controversial and polarizing discourses over the course of the last hundred thirty-three years since the enactment of the U.S.' first immigration law. Photographic representations of immigrants in this study therefore create an important space where the cultural becomes political; thus an interest in the role of culture in upholding or defying a political status quo lies at the core of this investigation.

This study also seeks to provide an approach to understanding why it has not been uncommon for people of color to be routinely stripped of their rights as American citizens, and why denying them the full privileges of citizenship has become normalized. From police brutality and hate crimes to the judicial system's overwhelmingly harsher

sentencing of non-Whites to an increasing divide in income distribution along racial lines, I contend that visuals play a decisive role in these quotidian manifestations of American racism. I hope that the following pages will shed some light on how American citizenship is a visually constructed identity and why, for those that do not physically resemble this identity, the ongoing struggle to claim the rights of first-class citizenship in civic, political and social spheres has not yet been won.

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[1] Renato Rosaldo, "Cultural Citizenship, Inequality and Multiculturalism," in William Vincent Flores and Rina Benmayor, eds., *Latino Cultural Citizenship: Claiming Identity, Space, and Rights* (Boston: Beacon, 1997), p. 31.
[2] Ibid., p. 37.
[3] Stuart Hall, ed. *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (London: Sage Publications, Ltd., 1997), p. 5.

Augustus Sherman's Ellis Island 'types' and photography's role in legitimating racial science

Augustus F. Sherman was a registry clerk with the Immigration Division of Ellis Island between 1892 until 1921. During his tenure, he photographed more than 200 families, individuals and groups while they were detained on the Island. Although there were several photographers working on Ellis Island during this time period, including Lewis Hine and Edwin Levick, because of Sherman's job he had special access to immigrant subjects and had more freedom to compose his photographs as stable portraits instead of candid shots. These were disseminated by various publications, including *National Geographic* and *Atlantic Monthly* as well as numerous pamphlets and books that either affirmed or negated the benefits of new immigration. Both the favorable and unfavorable positions were able to rely on Sherman's documentation due to his style of racial typing photography that intentionally communicated individuals' ethnic characteristics, i.e. their differences with respect to the American population, which was central to both the pro- and anti-immigrant standpoint. As with other contemporaneous ethnographies, Sherman's studies were concerned with racially categorizing immigrants according to classifications established by immigration policy. Ellis Island officials' visually assessed corporal characteristics, posture and clothing to approximate racial categories. Public Health Services (PHS) officials were trained at special universities to learn to recognize certain tendencies as inalienable to a particular race, which gave meaning to the racial categories on which the U.S. based its immigration policy's national origins quotas. "Experience," wrote E.H. Mullan, a surgeon for the United States Public Health Service, "enables the inspecting officer to tell at a glance the race of

an alien."[1] Ellis Island was therefore not only a space where the immigration debate was waged, but was also a site of racial formation.

A short history of immigration policy in the United States helps make a case for considering immigration policies as what Omi & Winant (1994) term a "racist racial project." A racist racial project is a set of actions that create or reproduce systems of domination based on essentialized categories of race. Therefore, I am particularly interested in the policies that make specific references to race and/or nationality between the years of 1790 and 1924, the year of the Johnson-Reed Act establishing national origins quotas for immigrants. In 1790, the American state decreed that all "free white persons" were permitted to acquire U.S. citizenship. The peace treaty at end of the U.S.-Mexican War in 1848 ruled that only White Mexicans of Spanish decent could claim U.S. citizenship, and 1877 marked the first U.S. immigration law, the Page Law, which denied entry to Chinese, Japanese and other Asian laborers "forcibly" brought to the United States. In 1882 the Chinese Exclusion Act was enacted, which outlawed all Chinese immigration. The Gentleman's Agreement of 1907 extended this exclusion to most Japanese immigrants, and the 1917 Immigration Act literacy was added as a prerequisite for citizenship, a law that overwhelmingly privileged the upper classes of Northwestern Europe although it did exclude Mexican immigrants from this requirement. Additionally established in 1917 was the "Asiatic Barred Zone," which prohibited individuals from all of Asia and the Pacific Islands from immigrating. In mentioning these policies, it is important to note the emphasis on race in determining who is eligible for U.S. citizenship.

The Johnson-Reed Act of 1924, portrays the level to which racial qualifications for citizenship controlled immigration policy. Even though national origins quotas were established by the 1921 Emergency Quota Act, this 1924 law decreased caps from three percent to two percent and altered the base year from 1910 to 1890. The decision to use 1890 instead of 1910 demonstrated the increasing anxiety concerning increasing naturalization rates of non-Northwestern Europeans, in addition to fears concerning "prejudices about greater and lesser inherent degrees of "assimilability" among...racialized and nationally stigmatized migrant groups."[2] As a result, the annual national quota for Italians, for example, was approximately 5,800, while for English immigrants the quota stood at about 66,000.[3] Until that same year, when the Indian Citizenship Act was passed, Native Americans could not gain citizenship unless they married a White male or enlisted in the military. Furthermore, Native Americans were also excluded from voting in all states until 1948. Of course, it was not until 1965 that African Americans were universally ensured the right to vote. Because the U.S.' system of determining eligibility for citizenship so heavily relied on racial categories, it is relevant here to address the types of 'scientific' approaches that were common to determine if an individual, and indeed the entire racial or national group that an individual represented, had the potential to be a 'good,' i.e. assimilated, American. Employing pseudosciences of biology and heredity, a project of emergent national identity was at stake.

Beginning in the late eighteenth century, inventing racial categories was a kind of global obsession. German physical anthropologist Johann Blumenbach's craniometrical comparisons were emblematic of these ventures to divide the world into racial groups, as

he theorized that there were five racial 'types' on the globe: Mongolian, Ethiopian, American, Malay and Caucasian.[4] These classifications were central to formulate immigration quotas as well as national censuses and other practices that sought to collect demographical information on a nation's population. The United States was the first to establish a decennial Census, which Alexandra Minna Stern calls a "ritual of statecraft" because it forged national identity through data collection and the categorizing of citizens.[5] While the Census will be discussed in Chapter 2 as particularly influential in shaping a Mexican American identity, it is useful here to point out that the Census emerged within the eugenicist movement, which had particular weight with the national bourgeoisie. A cousin of Charles Darwin, Sir Francis Galton (1822-1911) described eugenics in 1883 as "the science which deals with all influences that improve the inborn qualities of race; also with those that develop them to the utmost advantage."[6] These theories, along with Mendelian studies of genetics and Darwinian evolution, justified the immigrant threat as potentially destructive to the American nation state. The Stanford-Binet intelligence test was one such tool for demographic classification central to the development of a consistent immigration policy that deemed the Caucasian race the most beautiful and desirable as potential citizens. As Stephen Jay Gould points out in his *The Mismeasure of Man* (1981), this test was administered at Ellis Island in 1913 on those visually picked out to be "feeble-minded," which was thought an 'average' characteristic of immigrants. Of the thirty-five Jews, twenty-two Hungarians, fifty Italians and forty-five Russians tested, 83 percent of Jews, 80 percent of Hungarians, 79 percent of Italians and 87 percent of Russians were found to be scientifically-speaking, feeble-minded.[7] The benefactor of the study, H. H. Goddard, therefore claimed

> We cannot escape the general conclusion that these immigrants were of surprisingly low intelligence...It should be noted that the immigration of recent years is of a decidedly different character from the early immigration...We are now getting the poorest of each race.[8]

In this context emerged the immigrant threat narrative of the unfit overtaking the fit, a steady invasion of morons, idiots and degenerates flooding the gates of civilization. This study demonstrates the fact that immigration policy can also be conceived of as a state-ist project desirous of determining the boundaries of "free White personhood" to be the boundaries of intelligence and even personhood itself.

Minna Stern comments that the "preferred methods of nineteenth-century race science were craniometry, anthropometry, and visual registers of racial ascription," which included physiognomy.[9] By the 1830s, physiognomy had captivated a large segment of the American population, formulating a supposedly scientific defense for White supremacy. Physiognomy equated one's outward appearance with inward character, with particular weight placed on facial characteristics. The fact that this pseudoscience relied on visual evidence is of extreme import, given that photography was considered the most legitimate and objective tool with which to capture physical features, a "material vestige of its subject in a way that no painting can be."[10] As Hall describes, photography envisions difference and thus produces it as 'true': we can see "the skin colour and other ethnic markers in race, the biological differences between men's and women's bodies," which positions photography as uniquely able to uphold the pseudoscience because of the production of visible signifiers of difference.[11] Even after these pseudosciences were discredited as blatantly unscientific, the way photography was employed in this project assured that the residual cultural influence of those practices would remain salient in modern day America. Looking at how physiognomists utilized photography to create a

visual archive of specimens demonstrates how the medium was useful for comparative study not only of the races, but also of criminals and saints, citizens and foreigners. In this light, photography becomes a central site in which traits such as these can be mapped onto a body, engendering a kind of reading of this body as a metonym for the rest of his or her ethnic community and their shared traits and values.

Ardis Cameron (2005), Anna Pegler-Gordon (2009), Leo Chávez (2001; 2008) and other scholars signal the fact that photography gave visual credence to a system of values that placed certain physical characteristics over others, as markers for morality or maliciousness, in determining the likelihood that a subject would make for a 'good' American. The heteropatriarchal somatic norm image of America was valued while distance from it connoted ugliness and incivility. Therefore, photography was heavily invested in the racial formations of the United States taking place at the time, which involved the manufacturing and consolidating of the supremacy of a 'White' race, fashioned out of what was formerly conceived of as many separate racial categories such as the Mediterranean, Teutonic, and Alpine to name a few.[2] Whiteness has been a category that has included and excluded different groups at different times in American history, and one in fact thoroughly mediated by immigration policy. David Roediger reveals that "in a nation that commonly denied citizenship rights and naturalization to those who were classed as not white," naturalization and citizenship was, from the beginning of the formation of the United States, a racial privilege conferred only to those classified as White.[12] However, the debate of who was in fact white, was a remains a question.

[2] Appendix Fig. 1.

Because a White identity was indeed a prerequisite for U.S. citizenship, it was also an identity carved out to some degree by American law. While the legal framework for assessing race has shifted greatly over time, it is significant to note that Whiteness as a term was and is highly contested and highly ambiguous in the legal sense. Indeed, as Robert T. Devlin, United States Attorney in San Francisco stated in 1907, "There is considerable uncertainty as to just what nationalities come within the term "white person"."[13] *United States v. Thind* is just one of the many examples of cases that sought to clarify just what being White entailed, and even if prevailing science dictated that, for example, Syrians and Asian Indians were White by ethnicity, were they White enough to be American?[3] Because the Court found Thind 'not White enough' and relied on "common sense" theories of racial identity instead of evolutionary biology, the importance of visuality in assessing potential Americans, and of photography in disseminating and making uniform that image, cannot be denied. In the case of *Thind*, this change in visual identification retroactive denaturalization affected sixty-five Asian Indians between 1923 and 1927, effectively reversing the rulings of the lower courts as well as former conceptions of the race as White.[14] Similar inclusions and exclusions related to the Irish, Southern and Eastern Europeans, and Jews, who although were legally permitted to naturalize, were victims of racial epithets that slurred them as Black.

If we look to more recent American history, we can see that the White identity is a dynamic one, whose outer limits constantly fluctuate. Roediger writes,

> As Barry Goldberg and Colin Greer have observed, this 'white ethnicity', which gained force in major cities from the 1950s onwards in opposition to racial integration of neighborhoods, was not just a heading grouping together specific ethnic identities (Greek American, Polish American, Italian American and so on)

[3] For a lengthy discussion of other such cases, see Ian Hanley López's *White by Law: the Legal Construction of Race.*

> but a 'pan-ethnic' ideology that 'did not emphasize cultural distinction but the shared values of a white immigrant heritage.' Thus it was possible to become more self-consciously 'white ethnic,' but less self-consciously Greek, Polish or Italian at the same time.[15]

Space also produces racialization, as policies that segregated different groups in education, housing and public accommodations consolidated the White ethnic identity and fashioned non-White citizens as not fully American or not deserving of the same benefits of citizenship as Whites.[4] Indeed, Malcolm X argues in his autobiography that immigrants now considered White immediately grasped their status as superior to non-White races, which also instilled a profound sense of possessiveness over their newfound Whiteness, as it conferred first-class citizenship to them.

A racial formation perspective, emphasizing the long-term evolution of a White race in America, allows us to understand race as a socially constructed identity, dependent on social, economic and political agendas that seek to divide or unite certain groups of people who are aligned with or distanced from conceptions of the somatic norm image. It also demonstrates the degree to which Whiteness has transformed itself, and has thus always been a dynamic category shaped by circumstance and environment. Therefore, while some contend, like Peter Brimelow in his best-seller *Alien Nation: Common Sense About America's Immigration Disaster* (1995) that the "American nation has always had a specific core," and that "that core has been White," a racial formations perspective also allows for a relatively simplistic response, which is that 'White' has not

[4] Such policies that helped to define race in spatial terms include the G.I. Bill of 1944, as non-White races were excluded from most institutions of higher education; Federal housing programs in the 1930s and 1940s that granted low-cost loans for homeownership using a national appraisal system that assessed property value and loan eligibility according to the homogeneity of White communities, which left only 2 percent of the federal government's $120 billion worth of subsidized housing between 1934 and 1962 for people of color; the 1949 National Housing Act that razed more housing in low-income urban non-White communities than it created (two-thirds of those displaced were Black and Latino); and the allocation of federal and state tax dollars in the 1950s and 1960s to the newly-developed suburbs, which were largely inaccessible to people of color.

held constant meaning throughout American history, but instead has been deeply unstable and unfixed.[16]

The power of the somatic norm image of Whiteness, however, cannot be underestimated as it has meaningfully formulated a "popular standard against which derogatory images of non-Western...peoples were measured and judged" as inferior.[17] Those who did not exhibit the essential physical features of Whiteness were, in short, not granted the rights of American citizenship as they represented a deviation from heteronormativity, which Roderick Ferguson (2004) illustrates as White, patriarchal and heterosexual modes of conduct.[18] To reflect the connection between how this polarization interacts with photographic practices, Sander L. Gilman (2005) points out that the photographic terms "daguerreotype" and "stereotype" entered the public discourse simultaneously. While the daguerreotype refers to French inventor Louis Jacques Daguerre's technique of placing a singular image onto a silver plate to reproduce it popularized in 1839, the photographic stereotype was an effort at standardizing the images produced.[19] By the mid-nineteenth century, the word stereotype signified a generalized image devoid of detail, usually widely reproduced. Eventually simply referred to as a 'type,' photographic typing was employed to visually represent difference and adherence to the American norm. Elizabeth Edwards describes that

> types are very seldom named or identified beyond the very general; tribe, place of origin, or trade, for example. The stress was on the generality as represented by one specimen. Photographically, the 'type' is expressed in a way which isolates, suppressing context and thus individuality.[20]

Sherman's photographs are perfect examples of this racial typing.

An example of the way ideas of racial types the way they were hierarchically ordered were visually popularized is the exhibiting and touring of 'exotic' individuals

from non-Western regions at Worlds Fairs. At London's Crystal Palace in 1851, Chicago's World's Columbian Exposition in 1893 and the 1889 Paris Fair, the incorporation of more 'primitive' peoples sought to create a singular linear narrative of Anglo American and Western European "triumph over darkness, of civilization over savagery, of progress over stasis."[21] As Frederick Ward Putnam, director and curator of the Peabody Museum at Harvard and in charge of the Ethnology and Archaeology Department for the World's Columbian Exposition stated, without the presence of bodies from outside of Western Europe "the great object lesson" of the Exposition "then [would] not be completed...Without them, the Exposition will have no base."[22] The individuals displayed in the Exposition therefore constructed the 'base' from where the narrative of Western European and White progress begins. The narrative, called recapitulation, also firmly positioned indigenous peoples all over the world as simultaneously backwards and as part of pre-modernity, serving no function in modern society. By the late 1890s, these exhibitions had succeeded in concretizing conceptions of linearity that envisioned "entire populations...along [this] axis," and recapitulation had "dominated the work of...embryology, comparative morphology and paleontology."[23] Social Darwinism and the eugenics movement came to encapsulate this vision and pseudo-scientifically legitimate the 'natural' superiority of the Western European races and the inevitable extinction of other, less 'fit,' groups. These doctrines justified the exclusion of non-Whites from American citizenship as well as the ritualistic mass lynching of African Americans until the 1950s.

Because Whiteness was portrayed as the embodiment of civilization and progress, American immigration policy institutionalized the supposition that Whites were the only

good candidates for American citizenship. Not only was the 'new immigrant' from Southeastern Europe perceived to be one racially distinctive from and inferior to 'old immigrants' from the Northwest of Europe, but politics of the day also portrayed them as anarchists, communists and socialists active in the movements that provoked the Red Scare of 1919 and 1920. No physical space symbolized the process of creating the image of this new immigrant more than Ellis Island, as the visual inspections of 'othered' populations that occurred at the World's Fairs were reproduced daily in the Great Hall at Ellis Island.

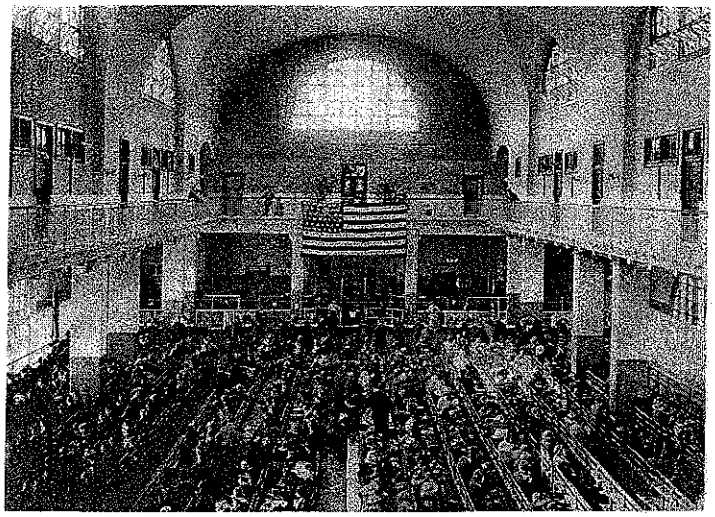

Fig. 1. Augustus Frederick Sherman, The Great Hall seen from the west balcony, Ellis Island, pre-1916.[24]

As such, there is no better space in which to explore photography's ability not only to reflect debates surrounding the relationship between notions of American citizenship and race, but also to produce and reinforce dominant understandings that painted citizenship and national belonging as a White privilege.

As Anna Pegler-Gordon (2009) shows in her study of visual culture and immigration, visual systems of observation were crucial to the implementation of immigration policy. Indeed Ellis Island existed as an observation station where every aspect of a newcomer's appearance was scrutinized and compared with ideas of the

somatic norm image that represented the 'good' American citizen. Visual observation was also practiced by tourists, school groups and scientists who stood on the balcony of the Main Hall, reproducing the practice common at Worlds Fair exhibitions where viewers were "safely removed from the subjects of their observation," much like at a zoo.[25] In addition, PHS physicians were "looking not only for evidence of disease but also for evidence of racial identity."[26] These observational performances can be viewed as exercises in Whiteness and a kind of ritual whereby predominantly White Americans would gaze and gape at the 'othered' masses below they had "learned to recognize through mass-circulation magazines."[27] Metaphorically, this spatial juxtaposition ensures that a physical hierarchy was created between those on the floor of the Great Hall and those on the balconies surveying them. Pegler-Gordon contends that "the balcony seems to have been designed primarily to facilitate the popular practice of visitors viewing the immigrants. It was built, not to allow the inspection of individual immigrants, but to enable visitors to observe the inspection of masses of immigrants."[28] In these and other practices of visual inspection, Ellis Island existed both as a location for imagining new populations that might have been before unseen within U.S. borders as well as a site where immigrants first came into contact with Americans and their propensity to subjugate immigrants as corporally subject to the visual authority of 'real' Americans. Ellis Island was also a space in which Americans were exposed to the un-Americanized behaviors of new immigrants in an isolated and liminal space between the 'old' and 'new' countries.

Augustus F. Sherman was one photographer who witnessed and took part in these exchanges, documenting new immigrants who came not only from Europe but also from

Africa, the Middle East and Asia, infusing the United States with much more cultural diversity than had previously existed. Sherman photographed immigrants that he perceived to be atypical: according to Tyler & Temple, Sherman requested of the staff that worked in the Main Building at Ellis Island: "If you see an interesting face, an arresting costume, contact Gus Sherman immediately!"[29] From this perspective, Sherman's images recorded the presence of difference on the Island, marking some while leaving others unexamined. This process reified that distance from the somatic norm image connoted an almost fetishized differentiation, as Pegler-Gordon states: "[they] were photographed because they were viewed as different, but they were also viewed as different because they were photographed."[30] Most of the time, Sherman's decision to photograph individuals physically removed them from the inspection line, isolating them and thus even spatially reproducing ideas of distinction.

Sherman photographically paralleled PHS officials' attempts to cluster individuals into racial groups in accordance with immigration policy's quotas.[31] The captions that accompanied Sherman's photographs support this reading of his work, as oftentimes Sherman has erased a subject's individuality by relaying broad nationalities instead such as 'Italian boy,' 'Hungarian,' or 'Servian gipsies,' while only occasionally imparting information as to uniqueness such as religion. This approach, which constructed images of individuals as 'types' meaning to signify characteristics endemic to a group, visually constructed discourse because it provided the visual evidence for the emergence of stereotypes with which the immigration debate was discussed. According to Stuart Hall discourses are established through representations including visual images that comprise symbols for larger constructs that defines the discourse by providing language for

understanding it. As Sherman's photographs imagine immigrants as potential parts of the American national body, it is important to recognize that the discourse which derived from this image-ing did acknowledge that immigrants were potential Americans, but simultaneously positioned subjects as obviously outside America. Ellis Island was the perfect photography studio in this way, because while it provided a view of the downtown Manhattan skyline and thus the tip of America, it was also a space of judgment where one could be sent back across the Atlantic for a number of reasons. The phrase "so close yet so far" is poignantly applicable in this context.

Physically, Ellis Island allowed for the obfuscating of the physical location of the photograph's setting. One of the most intriguing aspects of Sherman's work is that he takes advantage of this idiosyncrasy of the Island, composing different backgrounds to communicate different understandings of a subject's identity. For example, his photograph of a Cantonese woman places her body at the center of the frame, while in the background stands a "canopy with fluted ornamentation reminiscent of an imagined Orient" beyond a grassy courtyard and trellis.[32]

Fig. 2. Augustus Frederick Sherman, Cantonese woman.

The woman's racial identity is affirmed by her traditionally Cantonese clothing: a silk embroidered robe and cap. The spectator also reads her racial identity with respect to our interpretation of the pagoda-esque building behind. The connoted message of the photograph is that the woman is in China, or in a space that reminds us of that nation, dislocating the woman and thus problematizing an accurate reading of the meaning of the photograph. As this photograph demonstrates, Ellis Island exists as a space with great potential for visual uncertainty in the sense that its architecture denies the viewer the satisfaction of a straightforward interpretation based on readings of buildings and therefore prohibits him or her from geographically placing the subject. However, this stylistic decision also portrays the subject as un-American in that she is perceived to exist in the exterior. In this way the photograph does not challenge the American viewer to visually assimilate the woman into American architecture (and by extension, American culture), but instead safely positions her in the physical setting of an imagined homeland. The subject's facial expression and body stance, hands folded and mouth slightly upturned in an ambiguous grin, both convey the photograph's peaceful tone, but also add to the sense that this woman does not desire to infringe upon a normalized vision of Americanness instead content to remain 'elsewhere.'

This practice also extends to Sherman's portrait of an Algerian man. The subject, again at the center of the photograph and in an outdoor courtyard, smokes a cigarette and gazes to his left, smiling as if engaging in casual light-hearted conversation with another individual. Sherman shoots the man in his white robes and turban from below, a perspective that grants a certain degree of power and majesty to his subject, which is a strategy that is quite uncommon in Sherman's work. To the left of the subject's body

beyond green hedges is a small tower of the Main Building, which if examined in isolation, could be read as a minaret.

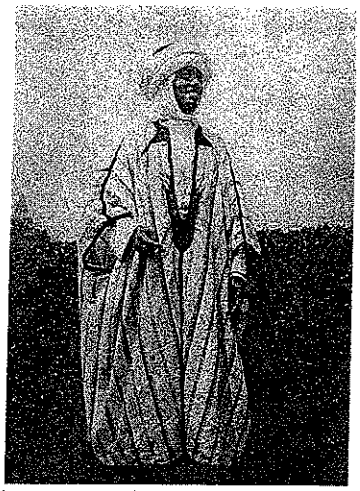

Fig. 3. Augustus Frederick Sherman, Algerian man.

The Algerian man's nationality is again photographically reinforced by an imagined elsewhere, perhaps a location where Sherman thought culturally appropriate for his subject.[33] Whether or not this man's homeland incorporated minarets or not is irrelevant: for Sherman's purposes, it is only important that he not exist in a traditionally American architectural context so as to reaffirm our reading of him as an individual whom American culture may not be ready to absorb or incorporate. In terms of composition, the environments of both of these photographs enforce a specific reading of a subject's national and ethnic identity. Utilizing the minaret and pagoda-esque building to reflect an imagined homeland, Sherman employs the photograph's setting as signifiers to symbolize foreignness.

Pegler-Gordon states that this deterritorialization of the 'othered' immigrant at Ellis Island occurs "at the moment in which the immigrant's status is most vulnerable, most dislocated – between Old World and New World, legally a no-man's land – the elimination of the photographic context of Ellis Island doubles that dislocation."[34] I argue, however, that this dislocation is a photographic strategy that Sherman employs to

avoid widely-held suppositions that the 'new' immigrant infringed on American identity. By not challenging this conception of American citizenship as a White privilege, Sherman's photographs reify stereotypes that represent people of color as eternally foreign to the American experience.

In Sherman's photographs another theme that demands attention in terms of differentiating the immigrant from the American somatic norm image is the rendering of the diversity of clothing worn by his subjects. It is perhaps the first thing that one notices because it immediately suggests overwhelming diversity of the 'new' immigrant. In Emory Bogardus' 1928 pamphlet *Immigration and Race Attitudes*, the author highlights the importance of dress in identifying difference, specifically of Turkish people:

> To a high degree the Turk is the victim of adverse reports. He ranks among the highest in the racial-antipathy column of Americans and among the lowest as far as any direct personal experiences of Americans are concerned. Very few Americans have met a Turk, few would recognize one (provided he was not wearing the fez); but all have heard of him, often from their childhood.[35]

Bogardus here demonstrates how the *image* of a group of people not common in American society becomes more important than an individual's experiences with it, or lack thereof. The marker of difference is the Turk's fez, a symbol that young Americans have been taught to associate with Turkish people. The fez therefore comes to illustrate the differences between Turkey and the U.S., particularly to those who have no social interactions with Turkish people so much so that the fez embodies the individual that wears it and deems him un-American and foreign. Moreover, in James T. Farrell's novel *The Young Manhood of Studs Lonigan*, set in the same year as the restrictionist 1924 Johnson-Reed Act, the author writes, "You know, you can tell an inferior race by the way they dress."[36]

In the instance of the anti-immigrant book *Aliens or Americans?* (1906), this marker of the new immigrants' visible foreignness is addressed several times using Sherman's photographs, depicted to be as threatening to a national American culture as difference in race, language and religion.[5] In attempting to qualify the sheer volume of immigrants in the U.S., the author compares their numbers with population densities in towns across the American Northeast. He states,

> Settle one hundred towns of th[e size of Saratoga Springs, New York] with immigrants, mostly of the peasant class, with their un-American languages, customs, religion, dress, and ideas, and you would locate merely those who come from Europe and Asia in the year ending June 30, 1905.[37]

Here we see that dress was a particular concern for restrictionists because it spoke to the visualizable inability of the new immigrant to assimilate into mainstream Anglo-American culture. Therefore, Sherman's photographs, which display the diverse costumes worn by incoming immigrants, were useful to anti-immigrant activists in marking immigrants as 'othered' groups, as essentially and obviously unlike Americans.

Many immigrants immediately shed these clothes in order to assimilate into the urban setting of New York City. For this reason Battery Park, the first place on Manhattan immigrants would land, was often described as a "sea of clothing," as it seems the space was truly seen as a location of transformation regarding a visualizable identity. In attempting to 'look American,' one of the first priorities of new immigrants was to change into American clothes, which social workers at Ellis Island often provided them in order to improve their felt (and perceived) belonging and ability to assimilate. However, Sherman captured those immigrants before this change took place, an

[5] The book's cover photograph is one of Sherman's: a Dutch brother and sister younger than five years old clutching religious tracts. The sister cries as her brother's arm comforts her. This depiction recalls the discourse that infantilizes immigrants and the fear that they will become public charges, evinced by the siblings' incapability of providing for themselves given their age (Appendix Fig. 2).

important fact in understanding how the photographs themselves were disseminated and incorporated into popular cultural at the time, as the photographs came to represent new immigrants as inherently different.

The patterns that materialize in depicting immigrants in Sherman's photographs are essential to a discussion of how these images created stereotypes of certain groups. Sherman's reliance on some stereotypes tags 'good' potential citizens, while others mark perceived negative qualities, which are directly linked to the photographic subjects' nationality and race. One of these stereotypes emerges in an analysis of portrayals of types of families. The setting and composition of three kinds of families represents diverging attitudes about them: we see the "German family from eastern Europe," the "Rome family," and a photograph captioned simply "Syrian," of a mother (presumably) and her four children. By comparing Sherman's rendition of each family, we glimpse again how photographs can reproduce and thus reinforce dominant ideas of otherness.

The German family includes five individuals, presumably a mother, grandfather, two children and a father, who all stand in front of a building and its large window.

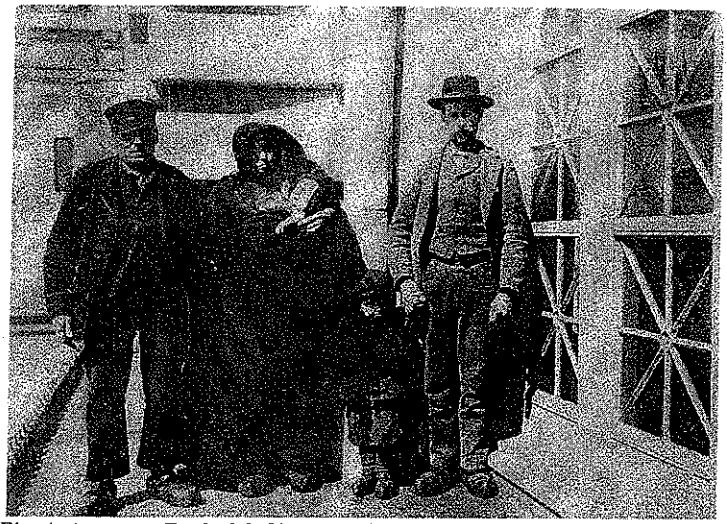

Fig. 4. Augustus Frederick Sherman, German family from Eastern Europe.

The two men frame the image, standing on either side of the mother and her children, one in her arms, the other standing beside his father clutching his hand. The father stands straight and gazes honestly into the camera, the hand not holding that of his son's balled into a fist. This nuclear family wears clothing that would have been typical in New York City at the time, as German immigrants were one of the biggest immigrant groups whose customs were hence widely known.[38] There are no blurry spots, indicating that the family must have stood posing for an extended period of time without moving, contributing to the photograph's demonstrated sense of stability. Partly due to the tall stances of the two men at either end of the image, we view the family as ordered, respectable, controlled and logical, their clothes neat and buttoned, their children well behaved. These descriptors are apparent to a viewer even in the twenty-first century, which signifies how Sherman's types remain instilled with meaning, one that extends not only to this particular family but also to German immigrants in general. Importantly, Germans were a group thought to be assimilable whose belonging to the White race was generally not questioned. In this way, this image does not contest the notion that American identity was a privilege granted to Northwestern Europeans without inquiry.

The photographs of the Servian gypsy and the Syrian families, however, are composed drastically differently. The gypsy family is also one of five, a father, mother and three children. All the subjects' gazes are drawn to different directions. The two boys sitting on the floor look to their right at something outside the frame of the photograph, while the mother looks above the camera, her baby to the far right and the man looks ahead. The mother's headscarf and large jewelry informs our reading of her as

a gypsy: her dress and that of the baby in her arms especially flow endlessly, along with the man's flowing hair, who sits beside her.

Fig. 5. Augustus Frederick Sherman, Rome family.

The background is totally unidentifiable; only the hint of a fence and tiled floor indicates that they may be outside on a patio or roof. These elements give the photograph an unkempt and lively feel; the setting and the events surrounding them are not identified. When compared with the German family, this image seems less stable and less alike to the preexisting American population.

In the photograph of a Syrian family, in the center sits a woman (either mother or older sister) holding a young boy in her lap, flanked by another boy and two young girls to her right and left. While the sedentary stance of the main subject in this photograph lends itself to notions of logical order and calm, the diverse expressions of the children add significant emotion to the photograph. One girl, perhaps the eldest, stares grimly at the floor, while her brother to her right stares incredulously and perhaps accusatorily at the camera, mouth slightly agape and eyes wide. The smallest child stares upward, a gaze that would indicate trachoma, for which the family was probably detained.[39] The second

girl to the mother's right is removed from the rest of her family, her silhouette isolated from the rest and not touching any of her family members.

Fig. 6. Augustus Frederick Sherman, Syrian.

She too stares at the camera, posture erect, hair drawn back like her mother and sister. There is no masculine figure in this image, and perhaps a viewer then would have equated this with the looks of despondency or desperation in the family's faces. Without a man to provide for the family present in the photograph, it is likely that this photograph would have fit with the discourse that painted Southeastern European immigrants as drains on society without vocational skills. As a 1905 article by former Assistant Commissioner of Immigration Edward F. McSweeny declared, "Alien races, and foremost those from the Mediterranean, the Orient, and from Slavic countries, are to be met with suspicion, for whatever danger there may be is in the undue preponderance of criminals, insane, and those becoming public charges."[40] Certainly disease (the young boy's trauchoma here) was an overwhelming concern relating to new immigrants threatening the 'healthy' American population as well.

Sherman's photographs of deformed and disabled persons alludes to what McSweeny refers to as the "undue preponderance" of undesirable traits in new immigrants. With the exception of the Russian giant, these five photographs are the only

photographs published that include Southeast Asians and are therefore the only visual information we receive about this race of people. Because these are also the only photographs of individuals with deformities, we associate deformity, with all its negative connotations and stereotypes, with persons of Southeast Asian heritage. Thus deformity, physical and mental due to physiognomy's connecting physical traits to psychological characteristics, becomes a metonym for Southeast Asian immigrants.[6]

Sherman's images thereby construct the visual justification for stereotypical discourses regarding the negative consequences of immigration in the early twentieth century. Ultimately, whether or not the various publications that employed Sherman's photographs were anti- or pro-immigration is irrelevant because they expose the viewer to a very particular and singular reading of races of potential new Americans. These singular readings were always informed by and posited as contrasting to the somatic norm images: importantly, in the images "Burmese" and "Russian giant," each immigrant is pictured between two individuals who worked at Ellis Island, aging White men who are portrayed to be 'typical' Americans. As Benedict Anderson contends, "Communities are to be distinguished…by the style in which they are imagined."[41] Therefore, the "style by which" the American community is imagined is heteronormatively represented by these two officials whose dress, race, career and culture is entirely dissimilar from both the Russian giant and the Burmese man, who are in essence the deviation from the norm and thus undesirable citizens.

I have shown that the representation of the somatic norm image is essentially a visual production, generating images of who and what America 'looks like.' Therefore, the substantial import of photography in maintaining these ideological norms that

[6] Appendix Fig. 3-7.

envelop an American identity cannot be overlooked. This chapter seeks to explain the importance of Sherman's photographs, circulated on a massive scale, in disseminating what the outer limits of Americanness could look like. In the images discussed, Sherman carefully constructs his frame to position the immigrant as outside the nation, either by positioning his subject in a physically ambiguous space that influences the reading of the subject's ethnic or national identity or by literally comparing the subject's physique to that of the American somatic norm image. It is worthy to note here that Sherman only photographs handful of Northwestern European immigrants, and these usually represent different unique groups, such as Jews, criminals or orphaned children.[7] These photographs question an immigrant's ability to assimilate as a Jew or as a child, not as part of a racial group, and thus supports the state's national origins quotas as rubrics for determining citizenship eligibility instead of religion requirements, for example. That photography marked non-Northwestern Europeans as worthy of notice, but left their counterparts undocumented should not come as a surprise, but is part of the larger photographic phenomenon of separating immigrants that did not adhere to the somatic norm image from those that did. This practice informed popular conceptions of what groups were assimilable, being capable of adopting Anglo American customs and behaviors, and which were deemed eternally foreign.

I have also attempted to show the stance of the state in creating these rubrics under pressures of high-powered eugenicist groups of the time, and particular their insistence on the passage of the 1924 Johnson-Reed Act. Indeed several members of the American Eugenics Society were politicians, most markedly Albert Johnson of

[7] Given the high rates of immigration from Ireland at the time, it is interesting that no photographs of Irish immigrants are included in this volume. Similarly, portraits of English Jews are the only mention of English immigrants.

Washington and John C. Box of Texas.[42] These pressures operated on political and ideological fronts. While eugenics was an ideological and cultural movement sweeping the nation that firmly situated non-Western Europeans as races biologically and genetically inferior and dangerous to the continued existence of an American nation, many politicians simultaneously expressed this eugenicist concern of studying the presumed negative effects of new immigration on the health, intelligence and productive capabilities of America. Tools utilized by biological determinists and especially eugenicists formed a project of social engineering, through intervention, what they though would be the most 'successful' society. Photography was a way of providing visual testament of the legitimacy of pseudosciences, the Census, immigration policy, as well as IQ tests, to concretize American standards and norms as commensurate with this narrative that positioned different populations on linear notions of progress, civilization, intelligence, productivity and even beauty.[8] These instruments of classifying individuals as well as entire populations as having particular capabilities in regards to intellect underlie cultural and political justifications for restrictionist immigration policy as well as nativism.

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[1] E.H. Mullan, "Mental Examination of Immigrants: Administration and Line Inspection at Ellis Island." *Public Health Reports*, p. 738.
[2] Nicholas De Genova, "The Legal Production of Mexican/Migrant "Illegality"." *Latino Studies* 2.2 (2004), p. 163.
[3] Joe R. Feagin "Old Poison in New Bottles: The Deep Roots of Modern Nativism," in Juan F. Perea, ed. *Immigrants Out! The New Nativism and the Anti-Immigrant Impulse in the United States* (New York: New York UP, 1996), p. 24.

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[8] One of the first nationally-administered IQ tests in the United States is known as the Stanford-Binet intelligence test, which relied on research on craniometry as well as the measuring of other body parts like feet, to determine intelligence. The scientists engaged in this study were French psychologist Alfred Binet and Lewis Madison Terman, American pioneer in educational psychology, President of the American Psychological Association and a prominent eugenicist who ascribed to the viewpoint that intelligence was inherited, as did Binet. The first mass administration of the Stanford-Binet test was during World War I with 1.75 million soldiers. See Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man*, p. 157; 166.

[4] Alexandra Minna Stern, "Eugenics and Racial Classification in Modern Mexican America" in Ilona Katsew and Susan Deans-Smith, eds., *Race and Classification: The Case of Mexican America* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), pp. 151-173.
[5] Stern, p. 154.
[6] Francis Galton, cited in Stern, p. 157.
[7] Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man* (New York & London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1981), p. 166.
[8] Goddard, cited in Gould, p. 167.
[9] Stern, p. 156.
[10] Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978), p. 153.
[11] Hall (1999), p. 314.
[12] David R. Roediger, *Working toward Whiteness: How America's Immigrants Became White: the Strange Journey from Ellis Island to the Suburbs* (New York: Basic, 2006), p. 5.
[13] Devlin, cited in David Roediger, *Towards the Abolition of Whiteness* (London: Verso, 1994), p. 181.
[14] Roediger (1994), p. 182.
[15] Ibid., p. 183.
[16] Peter Brimelow, *Alien Nation: Common Sense about America's Immigration Disaster* (New York: Random House, 1995), p. 45.
[17] Wallis cited in Cameron, p. 26.
[18] Roderick A. Ferguson, *Aberrations in Black: toward a Queer of Color Critique* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2004).
[19] Cameron, p. 25.
[20] Elizabeth Edwards, "Photographic "Types": The Pursuit of Method." *Visual Anthropology* 3.2 (1990), p. 241.
[21] Cameron, p. 30.
[22] Ward Putnam, cited in Cameron, p. 31.
[23] Cameron, p. 31; Gould, p. 114.
[24] Peter Mesenhöller, *Augustus F. Sherman: Ellis Island Portraits, 1905 - 1920* (New York: Aperture, 2005), p. 5.
[25] Pegler-Gordon, p. 112.
[26] Ibid., p. 120.
[27] Cameron, p. 6.
[28] Pegler-Gordon, p. 111.
[29] Andrea Temple and June F. Tyler, *Ellis Island and the Augustus Sherman Collection* (Wethersfield: The First Experience, Inc.,1986), p. 7.
[30] Pegler-Gordon, p. 10.
[31] Mesenhöller, p. 10.
[32] Pegler-Gordon, p. 36.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid., p. 131.
[35] Emory S. Bogardus, *Immigration and Race Attitudes* (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1928), p. 22.
[36] Farrell cited in Roediger (2006), p. 140.
[37] Howard B. Grose, *Aliens or Americans?* (Forward Mission Study Courses, New York & Toronto: Young People's Missionary Movement, 1906), p. 22.
[38] Mary J. Shapiro and Fred Wasserman, eds., *Ellis Island: An Illustrated History of the Immigrant Experience* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1991).
[39] Pegler-Gordon, p. 138.
[40] Z.F. McSweeney "The Character of our Immigration, Past and Present." *National Geographic Magazine* 16.1 (1905), p. 12.
[41] Anderson, p. 6.
[42] Stern, p. 166.

Preserving first-class citizenship for White Americans in the Southwest: Japanese internment and the Bracero Program in *Life* Magazine

Benedict Anderson's definition of the social dimensions of nationhood as "deep horizontal comradeship" that is far more exclusionary than inclusive predicts an 'othered' mass that is distinctly separate from the national body. [1] This collective lies just outside the boundaries of the nation, which juxtaposes the citizen and alien in undoubtedly spatialized terms.[2] As Nicholas De Genova has established in his numerous writings, this geographic division between citizen and alien has been negotiated in contradictory and confusing ways by the American government. Throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, immigration policy with respect to the Southern border has had to balance nativist hysteria with the desire for cheap labor to expand the agricultural industry of the Southwest. Central to this debate are questions of who is eligible for citizenship and who is undesirable as a potential part of this "horizontal comradeship." Two examples of the geographic dimensions of separating 'citizens' from 'foreigners' are Japanese internment and the mass recruitment of Mexican braceros for agricultural labor.

The Bracero Program of 1942 is an example par excellence of a "revolving door policy," as De Genova dubs it, as the Program sought to employ Mexican workers in the Southwest during World War II but actually facilitated the entry of far more undocumented laborers than documented ones: scholars have approximated that for every documented bracero there were four more who entered without papers.[3] A few hundred miles away from the braceros' point of entry, 1942 saw the internment of 120,000 Japanese, two-thirds of whom were native-born American citizens. Beginning with a discussion of this enforcement of spatial confinement of Japanese Americans and the photographs in *Life* Magazine that communicated this event to the public, I then discuss

how the Bracero Program served as fuel for this already-raging nativist fire. Both these incidents contribute to a two-pronged conception of people of color within the American territory: that the structure of their involvement in the American economy was never meant to indicate their inclusion in the American legal state; and that even when they were able to access full citizenship, the full rights of term simply did not apply. These two instances also communicate that while the end result of persecution each group faced was different, the scapegoat paradigm re-emerges in this context, which deems Mexicans, Mexican Americans, Asians and Asian Americans as threats to the American way of life. Particularly in the case of Japanese internment, the doctrine of national security as a justification for suspending civil rights takes on massive consequences. The force with which this doctrine reordered the Southwest's landscape is visible here, as is its continuation into the latter half of the twentieth century although with differing targets.

The ability of the U.S. government to effectively strip citizens of their rights through internment was legally permitted and socially sanctioned due to wartime security measures that established a state of emergency, much like the Emergency Quota Act of 1921. Residents of relocation centers spent on average three years partitioned off from the rest of society by barbed-wire fences legally found disloyal to American efforts and guilty 'by reason of race.' Mae Ngai points out that 1,393 German and 264 Italian nationals were also arrested directly after the attack on Pearl Harbor and the United States' subsequent entry into World War II; all but a handful were released.[4] Earl Warren, then California's attorney general and later Supreme Court Chief Justice and champion of civil rights, explained the difference in treatment of different racial groups: "We believe that when we are dealing with the Caucasian race we have methods that will

test the loyalty of them...But when we deal with the Japanese we are in an entirely different field and cannot form any opinion that we believe to be sound."[5] The de-Americanization of Japanese Americans signified that the long evolution of a Japanese American presence in the United States over time did not amount to sufficient assimilation or 'loyalty' to the American way of life. In particular, Warren's view of Japanese Americans as basically not comprehensible as rational human actors is a common prejudice throughout American history, firmly positioning Asian Americans (and particularly Japanese Americans) as distinct from other American racial groups. This distinction and specific understanding of the Japanese as a group whose intentions were impossible to read in an American context posited their dangerousness and their threat to national security, which was constructed around Japan's status as an enemy nation during World War II. As the race was therefore not understood as part of the American imagined community its citizenship was effectively annulled. Japanese Americans (Nisei), now de-Americanized, were put into internment camps that sought to teach American values, thus seeking to assimilate a group of seemingly thoroughly un-American Americans. In an amazingly contradictory manner, Nisei were taught the American principles of liberty and justice while they were well painfully aware of their legal deprivation of them.

In 1943, the War Relocation Authority (WRA) required that all interned adults submit to a mandatory loyalty survey to assess their alliances in the war so that all who were truly loyal could be removed from the camps. The questionnaire inquired as to the respondent's religion, levels of education, occupation and included questions about cultural practices and affiliations such as "Will you conform to the customs and dress of

your new government?" and even "Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States and American and faithfully defend the United States from any or all attack by foreign or domestic forces, and forswear any form of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese emperor, or any other foreign government, power or organization?"[6] The threat of the draft also loomed large, and the responses to these questions were often seen as issues of life and death. The swearing of allegiance to a government that essentially jailed its citizens for being part of a particular race without regard for its many laws prohibiting such actions was excruciatingly paradoxical.

In 1944 Congress passed the Denationalization Act, allowing citizens to renounce their citizenship if they were so inclined. For some this act seemed benevolent because it rationalized that those who felt allegiance to Japan would renounce their citizenship, thus eliminating the need for interning loyal Japanese American citizens. However, the Denationalization Act was received confusedly, as some perceived it as a way for the U.S. to deport Japanese Americans without qualms and to further rescind their civil liberties. For others it was a way of escaping the draft and of ensuring continued family unification in internment camps. The question of renunciation may have been really one of remaining in the camp or of returning to their homes; for others it was a confusing demand to singularize what were in reality dual loyalties. In a month and a half, about 5,500 Japanese Americans applied to renounce their citizenship, 5,049 of which were approved. However, when Japan surrendered shortly thereafter, claims that they had renounced under duress were filed in federal courts. It was not until 1959 that these cases were decided: of 5,409 total requests for reinstating citizenship, 4,978 were granted, the rest denied due to "reliable evidence of disloyalty."[7]

The assumed disloyalty of the entire Nisei community was based on their deviance from the somatic norm image of American citizenship. Returning to Anderson's conception of "nation-ness," the interment of Japanese Americans was related to their "skin-colour...parentage and birth-era," as was the nullification of their citizenship. Somatic differences between White Americans and Japanese Americans were depicted by popular media, which significantly included *Life*, the most popular magazine of the time. Its 20 March 1944 issue was the first to address the topic of Japanese American interment, thus disseminating a viewpoint that was for some the only one available. Focusing on the Tule Lake camp, the site of many protests, strikes and other forms of resistance, the *Life* article reinforced the image of the militantly disloyal Nisei who was contradictorily and simultaneously content in confinement.

The leading page of the 11-page article shows five Japanese American men shot from below, each gazing somewhat disinterestedly at the photographer.

Fig. 7. *Life* Magazine, These five Japs are among 155 trouble makers imprisoned in the stockade within the Tule Lake segregation center. Here they are answering roll call.

At the center of the image is an older man with grey hair holding a pipe in one hand while the other hand sits in his pocket. He seems confident, relaxed and friendly.

However, he is flanked by four others, younger and more menacing looking, one wearing a black leather jacket in typical greaser style. Another crosses his arms in intimidation. The first sentence of the article identifies the men as trouble-makers and "pressure boys" "fanatically loyal to Japan." Their "strong-arm methods...are responsible for Tule Lake's reputation as worst of all civilian detention camps in {*sic*} U.S." The rest of the internees the article describes as "quiet, undemonstrative people." This polarity in description introduces what some scholars (Ono & Sloop 2002 et al) have called the good immigrant/bad immigrant narrative, which in this case reinvents itself as separating the good citizen from the bad citizen within the particular group of Japanese Americans.

This discourse is be molded and transformed to fit different circumstances and ascribe different characteristics to different immigrant groups depending on the epoch. The good immigrant is one that is hard-working, learns English, and who, in short, embodies the American Dream, thereby establishing one's qualification for U.S. citizenship. Ono & Sloop state that "such an approach...constructs a "bootstrap" narrative that focuses on the economic potential of immigrants and implies that if immigrants are not doing well it is their own fault," simultaneously exceptionalizing the 'good' immigrant in juxtaposition with the larger group of 'bad' immigrants and disregarding the structural aspects of social conditions that "circumscrib[e] the lives of immigrants."[8] The 'bootstrap' narrative also proscribes a limited vision of acceptable behavior for 'successful' Americans and presumes that American society views all hard-working individuals equally, rewarding them equally as well. This narrative can also apply to citizens, and particularly to citizens that do not adhere to the American somatic norm image. While the Japanese American masculinity depicted here is entrenched in

the 'bad citizen' realm, the following pictures of internee families, women and children confines the descriptor of 'good citizen' to the apolitical domestic sphere.[9] The label of 'good citizen' depends on an individual's de-politicization and his or her confinement to the private sphere, the public sphere being a more political realm.

These photographs depict images of daily life in the camps. Reaffirming Nisei dual loyalty, the caption of a large shot of schoolchildren displays that fact that internees did maintain some liberties while interned, while leaving uncontested the issue of interning American citizens in the first place.

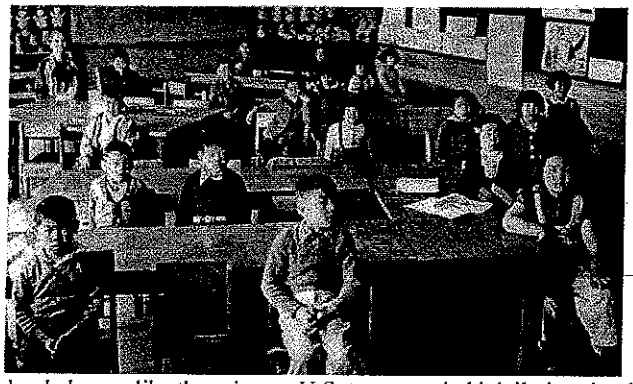

Fig. 8. *Life* Magazine, School classes, like those in any U.S. town, are held daily in school barracks for the young Japanese. Taught by 46 American teachers and eight Japanese teachers, the lesions are in English. Regular subjects are American history, arithmetic and English grammar. Enrollment in 2,269. Also held regularly are the Japanese-language schools, conducted by Japanese teachers. In these enrollment in 4,608, double that of the center's English-language schools. Because they camp has freedom of belief and religion, the Japanese can teach the children what they want.

This photograph of a classroom full of young children and the next, of a nurse and "new Japanese baby with silky black hair" address the widespread nativist fear that Nisei birth rates were higher than those of White Americans, touching on the stereotype of the hyper-reproductive capabilities of non-White citizens and immigrants. In particular, the caption's mentioning that the baby has "silky black hair" challenges the somatic norm image of White Americans of Western European descent. The caption reads, "There are about 25 births a month in the camp – a birth rate above that of the U.S. but below that of

[9] Appendix Figs. 8-9.

Japan," thus constructing a linear notion of cultures whereby birth rates are imagined in response to individuals' proximity to Japan.

Fig. 9. *Life* Magazine, A new Japanese baby with silky black hair is held by a Japanese nurse in the obstetrical ward of the Tule Lake Hospital. There are about 25 births a month in the camp – a birth rate above that of the U.S. but below that of Japan. The death rate (about 10 per month) is lower than in either country. The hospital is a rambling, wooden barracks building with 250 beds in eight wards. It has all the drugs, supplies and equipment found in any U.S. Army hospital and can handle virtually any kind of operation. Attached to the hospital are two convalescent barracks.

Fears of Japanese reproduction resonate with twenty-first century discourses that portray Latina sexuality as problematic, an uncontrollable animalistic characteristic that simultaneously reflects opinions that both groups cannot assimilate into the mainstream American lifestyle, yet are still subject to the judgments it proscribes (Chávez 2004; Ono & Sloop 2002; Molina 2006). Ultimately, these stereotypes relate to anxiety surrounding changes in American demographics and challenges to visions of the nation's citizens uniformly as White Western European descendents. In addition, the topic of birth rates is associated with the same spectrum of modernity discussed in Chapter 1, having to do with a line on which populations are placed according to their proximity to Western European culture and thus their modernity. Low birth rates historically have been considered central to the development of an industrialized and modern, civilized culture, and are thus an important aspect of this linear notion of modernity. In this case, it seems

that *Life*'s mentioning the birth rates of Japanese Americans in relation to those of other Americans and Japanese portrays the U.S. as the apex of civilization, while Japanese Americans, due to their supposed proximity to Japanese culture, lag behind, still maintaining linkages to Japan. This association adds to widespread stereotypes that Japanese Americans were somehow inferior to White Americans, which allowed for the massive internment of an American population.

On the next page, framed by six other smaller photographs, is a larger one captioned "Roll call for "pressure boys"."

Fig. 10. *Life* Magazine, Roll call for pressure boys.

A long line of interned men files between the barracks as two WRA officers and two dogs stand in front. The officers stand facing the crowd of men, establishing order as the dogs seem to assist. One officer leans towards a man in line and places his hands on the man's shoulder, as if placing him in line with the rest. This image recalls a paternalistic vision of U.S. government while infantilizing Nisei men who need to be guided and directed to produce an ordered image. The infantilizing discourse has its roots in the recapitulation doctrine discussed in Chapter 1, which thought that "the adults of inferior groups must be like children of superior groups," such that "all "inferior" groups – races, sexes and classes – were compared with the children of white males."[9] Ono & Sloop (2002) argue that the discourse that infantilizes immigrants also manifests itself in

American racism that illustrates the "irresponsibility and depravity" of people of color, assuming the "innate criminality of children needing to be tamed, lest their true character is allowed to be expressed without proper parental guidance and control."[10] The suggested criminality of the men on the first page of the article here is monitored by surveillance and corporal manipulation – an exercise in White American manhood as the emblems and somatic norm images of the governmental law and order.

These issues notwithstanding, the article does in part take on a sympathetic outlook towards the end, particularly if we consider its text. The reader is presented with a full-page photograph of a "Japanese "pressure boy"...singing *Home on the Range*" with his guitar, his expression depicting "what is feels like to be a prisoner."

Fig. 11. *Life* Magazine, What it feels like to be a prisoner is shown in *{sic}* expression of this young Japanese "pressure boy," in stockade. He was singing *Home on the Range* when Mydans entered stockade barracks. Reports Mydans, "He sang it like an American. There was no Japanese accent. He looked at me the same way I guess I looked at a Japanese official when he came to check on me at Camp Santo Tomás in Manila. At the back of my mind was the thought, "Come on, get it over and get out. Leave me alone." This boy felt the same way. He was just waiting, killing time.

He looks despondently to the right of the camera, his fingers strumming his guitar. The caption states the article's writer's, *Life* photographer and occasional contributer Carl

[10] In the Black/White American binary, these statements also have as their precursors in anthropometric 'studies' such as that conducted by Louis Agassiz, whose findings compared the brain of an adult Black male to that of a seven-month old White fetus.

Mydans, perception of the boy's experience in internment. In a demonstration of relating personal experience to that of the photograph's subject rare in *Life*'s reportage, Mydans recalls his own internment in a Japanese POW camp in Singapore and identifies with the internee. However, in Mydans' case, it is unlikely he would be singing a Japanese cultural anthem on his guitar in a POW camp, a painful reminder that Mydans' stint as a POW could be wholly expected as her engaged in war, a combatant wearing the uniform of his homeland. The Japanese American pictured also wears the uniform of his homeland, both physically in a sweatshirt and khakis, and culturally, with his guitar and song of choice. His cultural Americanness is further photographically emphasized in the photographs on the wall behind him, headshots and pinups of female American icons. However, he is still treated as a hostile outsider and foreign threat. Therefore, while the writer maintains some compassion for the victims of interment, this sentiment only goes so far and does not realize the full implications of de-Americanization and citizenship nullification.

The rest of the photographs in the article are dedicated to representing quotidian activities in the camp normal as with respect to the American way of life. They depict internees working, getting their hair done at barbershops, buying magazines at a general store, engaging in leisure activities like playing marbles, going to Church and Buddhist temple and pictures of the mess hall. However, the one-page article entitled "They Have Everything Except Liberty" complicates this vision of life in the camp. Mydans is quoted again as stating, "Over here we have the problem of American citizens being interned as aliens. There are political and sociological conflicts." Here at least, Mydans seems to recognize the paradox of racially coding Japanese heritage with disloyalty and clearly

expresses discomfort at this association. However, the final tone of the article reifies the need for the policy of interment and states,

> The 18,000 Japs at Tule Lake are, in a sense, a form of insurance for the safety of some 10,000 American civilians still in the hands of the Japanese and as U.S. casualty lists grow longer and the war hatred grows more bitter, our treatment of these people will directly affect the treatment of our fellow Americans across the Pacific.

To summarize, the article as a whole admits certain distress over the idea of citizens being deprived of their rights. At the same time, however, the recognition that Japanese Americans are not part of the Japanese state does not register. The thought that the Japanese government would act on behalf of those that had long abandoned it (some several generations ago) and intervene in the United States' maltreatment of its own citizens is questionable. It is more likely that the internment of U.S. citizens only reinforced the understandings evident to the world that implementing American liberalism's ideologies and the rhetoric of liberty and justice for all was a theoretical goal that had not been realized.

Just after Japanese interment, the U.S. and Mexico initiated the Bracero Program. In contrasting the two events side by side, notions of expelling alien individuals thought to be disloyal to war efforts becomes further complicated, as one population was recruited for labor and the other confined and physically prevented from engaging in American culture and the American economy. It may be interesting to consider how Japanese interment could have created the preconditions for the passing of Bracero legislation. Certainly, this involved labor concerns, as thousands of Californians were uprooted for internment. However, it is also relevant to again address the good immigrant/bad immigrant narrative, which here comes into play across racial lines:

because of Japan's affiliation with the axis of evil, Japanese Americans adopt the role of 'bad immigrant,' while Mexicans embody the 'good immigrant,' contributing to the expansion of the American economy with a cheap and flexible labor supply.

Like Japanese internment, the Bracero Program would have a similar effect in showcasing not only the inability of non-White citizens to access the full rights entitled to them as such but also the continuous exploitation of a non-American migrant workforce virtually without regard for human rights. Interestingly, Japanese American interment and the Bracero Program are related in more than historical terms: as anti-Japanese and anti-Asian sentiment grew prevalent in much of the United States, particularly the Southwest, it became increasingly difficult for people of Asian descent to access job markets previously open to them. In particular, Japanese and Chinese Americans had, until the late 1930s, occupied positions as farm workers, principally as berry pickers for large-scale agricultural growers. As nativism grew stronger these groups were excluded from job opportunities, thus large sectors of the agricultural job market became unproductive. Mexican laborers were thought the ideal group to fill this void and to reinstate American agricultural production as one of the most lucrative and successful in the world. This process of replacement of one ethnic group with another was not without protest that held that jobs in America should be reserved for Americans. However, according to Ngai (2004), De Genova (2010), Hing (2004), Chávez (2008) and others, the allure of a Mexican labor force was too great to be quelled by restrictionists and xenophobes: economic concerns were legally privileged. However, as these scholars show, the federal government attempted to maintain a rhetorical front that presented

nativist claims as legitimate causes for alarm. This rhetoric served to provoke and augment nativist hysteria that underlined the increased need for securing national borders.

Cultural stereotypes contributed to the view that held that braceros were the ideal work force for the Southwest: workers were thought to be in essence seasonally nomadic; unable to access civil rights of citizenship or unwilling to lodge complaints against their employers for fear of federal apprehension; and the fact that braceros were mostly young men theoretically ensured that Mexican families would not become permanent factors of the American social imaginary. Of course, this logic proved flawed on many counts, and Mexican workers staged numerous protests and labor strikes in the 1920s and 1930s, including the labor strike in the Imperial Valley in 1928 protesting mistreatment of workers and growers' habits of neglecting to pay their employees. These acts of resistance shocked witnesses; federal officials proclaimed that stereotypes of docility and contentment as racially prescriptive Mexican traits were in fact wrong.[11]

Prior to World War II the border was an extremely porous zone where transnational migration was a casual fact of life for Mexicans and Americans alike. Thus the attempt to politically solidify and literally concretize the border was thus enacted slightly a-historically, with little concern for local social and political dynamics and customs. Although the process of placing physical markers to delineate South from North did not begin until much later, the rupturing of the socio-political fabric of the territory began in 1848 as a result of the Mexican American War (1846-1848). My interest in historically contextualizing the border region as a contested space lies in the fact that current understandings of it are profoundly a-historical: the region was not always a space that forcefully divided but was a long-standing commercially, socially and

culturally viable, thriving separate region that Mexicans and Americans shared. This regional dynamic complicates the Andersonian idea that national citizenship communicates shared cultural values or pratices, as the Southwest is definitively a culturally distinct area from both the rest of the United States and Mexico as well. The terms of that ended the War, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, included the buying of California, New Mexico, Nevada, Utah and Arizona for $18.3 million from the Mexican government.[12] This region represented 55 percent of Mexico's national territory.[13] Over night, between 80,000 and 100,000 Mexicans suddenly became "U.S. subjects, if not quite citizens."[14] In the years between the Treaty and the Great Depression, the U.S./Mexico border was an amorphous zone where very few restrictions were placed on movement from one side to the other. To support claims that the Bracero Program in part came out of forced abandonment of positions in the California's labor pool by Japanese Americans, a short summary of the treatment of different labor groups in that state is useful.

Before the passing of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, Chinese, Japanese and other Asian immigrant groups supported the U.S. labor markets. Their vigorous labor recruitment by the U.S. government during the Gold Rush was followed by "racialized hostility" predicated on the way in which the interests of Anglo American settlers opposed the threat that the Chinese especially posed to "their status as a "free" laboring class."[15] These Chinese laborers were predominantly from the Kwangtung province in Southeastern China and while the pull factors for immigration to the United States included the promise of profitable employment, push factors included overpopulation, floods, and the social upheaval relating to the Opium Wars and the Taiping Rebellion.[16]

As Tomás Almaguer cites, before 1851 there were less than a thousand Chinese immigrants in California; by 1851, there were 2,716 and a year later grew exponentially to over 20,000. By 1870, there were 63,000 Chinese in the U.S., 75 percent of which lived in California.[17] For many White Americans, Chinese immigrants were seen as "distasteful" in "physical appearance, language, manner of dress, food, religion, and social customs"; their religion made them heathens or pagans, other aspects of Chinese culture were seen as uncivilized.[18]

Interestingly, some authors (Almaguer 1994; Saxton 1971 et al) have noted that negative stereotypes associated with African Americans were displaced onto Chinese immigrants, especially those that infantilized them as docile, lazy, dishonest, humble, or thieving. As Horace Greeley opined in a 1854 *New York Tribune* editorial, Chinese women were seen as promiscuous and unhygienic, "prostitute[s] of the highest order," men as perverted sexual deviants.[19] Miscegenation laws sprang up in California in 1880 that included Black Americans, mulattos or "Mongolian" intermarriage with Whites illegal.[20] Violent acts of anti-Chinese nativism emerged to protest the impact new immigrants were having on the Southwestern labor market, one that challenged White supremacy in its claim to unilateral employment at higher wages than those at which the Chinese were employed. After the consequent passing of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, Mexican and Japanese migration increased dramatically to fulfill the recently vacated labor positions the Chinese had held.[11]

[11] After the Chinese Exclusion Act took effect, the border became a site of national concern not because of Mexican immigration, but because of the Chinese's dramatically successful attempts to pass as Mexicans (see Pegler-Gordon for in depth explanation). Importantly, this practice disrupted and continues to disrupt understandings that race is a visually legible part of identity.

This new source of immigration was met with a positive reception by growers and other employers who desired a cheap and temporary labor force. As a result, agricultural production expanded exponentially, especially in the central valley of California and the Rio Grande Valley in Texas.[21] The domestic labor force, however, pressured the U.S. government to enact restrictions on Mexican migration, their competition. While laws were certainly put into place to placate these demands, enforcement was locally impractical and nationally undesirable for American economic growth. Even as national immigration policy became more restrictive after the 1917 Immigration Act, preferential treatment was given to Mexican immigrants who were exempt from the Act's literacy test, due to the economic benefits this population engendered for the American nation. As immigration law scholar Bill Ong Hing rightly notes, the result was "to permit continued disregard for the border and to cultivate deepening disrespect for the law" on the part of the American citizenry and its government.[22] Interestingly, anti-immigrant rhetoric stresses the fact that undocumented immigrants have a priori no respect for the laws of the nation of which they are desirous of becoming a part, while this dynamic has been historically entrenched in the American government's policies regulating the border region.

The threat of Mexican immigration, however, did not gain much credence as Japanese immigrants were targets of most stereotypes and resentment surrounding labor relations after Chinese immigration was mostly halted. As Almaguer writes,

> European-American attitudes toward the Japanese were largely an extension of their earlier view of the Chinese. The Japanese were also seen as posing a formidable threat to the jobs, wages, working conditions, and the overall status of free white labor in the state. On the other hand, Mexican workers...were not perceived at the time as posing the same peril to the class aspirations and racial entitlements of white labor.[23]

These differentiations were in part based on the fact that Mexican labor was thought to be transient, non-permanent threats to American national identity, as will be discussed later in this chapter. In addition, most Japanese immigrants were young students following the promise of lucrative employment and although their class status was questioned by the Meiji Restoration, they were generally more educated than their Chinese counterparts due to Japanese mandatory education until the age of 14.[24] In 1890, about 1,000 Japanese resided in California; by 1910 they numbered 41,356.[25]

Another way they differed from the Chinese was in their inclination to organize to demand wage increases, which positioned them in the opinion of some Anglo American growers as even more dangerous or objectionable than the Chinese. Negative perspectives further marginalized the Japanese in a push to pass the Gentleman's Agreement of 1907, which curtailed Japanese immigration, as well as California's Alien Land Laws of 1913 and 1920 that held it illegal for those who were not eligible for naturalization to own property, i.e. those that were not White.[12] These laws intensified the phenomenon of increased Mexican migration, as an ever-greater labor force was actively recruited from Mexico by U.S. growers. Importantly, Mexican immigrants were thought to be less of a threat to national unity than the Japanese or Chinese because they were described as "not socially or industrially ambitious, like European and Asiatic immigrants"; they could not "do white man's work [and thus] compete[d] little, if at all, with white labor," were not thought to be permanent residents of the state, like African

[12] These obstacles facing Japanese and some Mexican immigrants resulted in the cooperation of about 800 men to organize the Japanese-Mexican Labor Association (JMLA), which staged a strike in 1903 in Oxnard, California, the first of its kind to formulate successful challenges to the White land-owning aristocracy and their interests. The strike organized 1,200 men against the American Beet Sugar Company, which totaled over 90 percent of beet laborers in the county (Almaguer, p. 196). This manifestation of solidarity across racial boundaries is interesting considering that White unions were closed to non-Whites because of racist stereotypes that sought to ensure that White labor remained the best paid.

Americans, and therefore were undeserving of the privileges granted by citizenship.[26] The Dillingham Commission, a congressional committee established in 1907 under the pressure of nativist groups to study the effects of recent immigration, in 1911 agreed with these statements and indicated that as potential citizens Mexicans were unattractive, but as a source of cheap labor extremely appealing.

In the decade following the Mexican Revolution of 1910, approximately 200,000 Mexicans were granted entry into the United States.[27] During the First World War, the Mexican work force was energetically recruited to solve labor shortages. Even throughout the Depression, Southwestern employers continued to rely on a predominantly Mexican workforce that worked for lower wages, longer hours and in poorer conditions than American citizens. Additionally, they were largely unorganized, partly because the American Federation of Labor did not allow Mexicans membership in its unions. Problematically, a racist discourse was utilized to further the aims of employers that "stigmatized" agricultural jobs "as being beneath white Americans."[28]

In 1924 the Border Patrol was created under the auspices of the Department of Labor for three major purposes: to control the flow of bootlegged liquor transported and to discourage unauthorized border crossings. This 450-man force might have had more of an effect in terms of discouraging undocumented workers from returning to Mexico after the season's harvest then deterring them from entering the U.S. in the first place. Furthermore, "the new emphasis on formal status and the complexity of the deportation statutes generated confusion in an area long characterized by informal crossings."[29] Following the stock market's crash in 1929, nativism and xenophobia were the justifications for the outbreak of anti-Mexican and anti-Asian sentiments in the

Southwest. As a result over 400,000 Mexican and Mexican Americans were forcibly deported in the early 1930s.[30] Even though some of those deported had American citizenship, the concept that they were 'foreigners' was part of a racialized discourse that held that only Anglos were true American citizens. These programs as well as numerous incidences of anti-Latin@ violence propelled two million Mexican nationals and Mexican American citizens to repatriate in a little more than a year.[31] During the Depression, Mexicans, Chican@s and Latin@s in general were targeted as criminals, violent social deviants and as groups lacking standards of hygiene and who were thus prone to disease. These aspects comprised the "Mexican American psychology" theorized and studied in medical discourses in the 1930s and 1940s.[32] Like physiognomy was applied to immigrants at Ellis Island, photography and pseudoscience were again applied to bolster White supremacy and create a basis for racist and xenophobic actions and policies on the Southwest border.

Mexican and Mexican American racial identity had been a point of contestation since the U.S. extended the right to vote to those White male Mexicans that remained in the American Southwest for at least one year after the ratifying of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. The space carved out for Mexicans in the American racial order was, in the regard that they possessed the right to vote, one of liminal Whiteness in that Mexicans were considered not Black and not universally indigenous or Native American. However, eugenics movements beginning in the early 1900s sought to destabilize this affinity and define Whiteness more narrowly. As Alexandra Minna Stern argues,

> the dilemma of the classification of Mexicans in the United States in the 1920s and 1930s was as much about demarcating the outer limits of Whiteness as it was about managing the unwieldiness of perceived biological hybridity.[33]

Two congressmen mentioned in Chapter 1, Albert Johnson of Washington and John C. Box of Texas, urged Congress to implement Mexican quotas on these eugenicist grounds. In congressional debates between 1926 and 1930 the 'Mexican problem' needed to be addressed because Mexicans, and working-class Mexicans in particular, were "degenerate hybrids who carried the worst elements of intermixed stock," and therefore the need to protect "American racial stock from further degradation or change through mongrelization," as Box indicated, was imperative.[34]

In this context a new category appeared on the 1930 Census and "Mexican" became an officially separate racial category in the eyes of the American state. Members of this group included those "born in Mexico, or having parents born in Mexico, who were not definitely white, Negro, Indian, Chinese, or Japanese."[35] Although this new category bridged a color gap between Whiteness and Blackness, it also created a Mexican identity as one eternally foreign: even though the state recognized that many of its citizens that were of Mexican descent were born within the confines of the American national body, their status as non-White citizens conflated national and racial identities. Simultaneously, as Tomás Almaguer (1994) indicates, Mexicans were "the only ethnic population in California during the nineteenth century that Anglos deemed worthy to formally marry," unlike African Americans, Native Americans or Asians and Asian Americans. Miscegenation between Anglo Americans and Mexicans was however "rigidly circumscribed along predictable class lines" instead, at least until the end of the nineteenth century.[36]

That the Census was hugely instrumental in the racial formations of Mexican Americans by actually creating a specific racial category is intriguing, given the surge in

eugenics in the decade before 1930 and the growing political power it commanded in this time period. While eugenicists, generally from the upper classes of American society, sought to utilize race sciences such as craniometry, anthropometry and physiognomy to assess an individual's racial type, they also were concerned with miscegenation of the races, which was thought to mongrelize populations, passing on only the negative characteristics of each race. Only "criminals, imbeciles, heathens, and degenerates could result...capable of destroying the purity of Anglo Protestants in the United States."[37] Therefore, the eugenicist movement was invested in gaining control of those "classificatory technologies in order to measure, rank, label and correlate – all with the expressed purpose of biopolitical inventorying and management," as Stern writes.[38] These 'technologies' included the Census as well as other demographic surveys, immigration policy and laws governing interracial behaviors. Consequently, the role of the eugenicist movement in constructing the terms around which the war of defining a Mexican American identity was waged cannot be separated from fears of American racial mixing would lead to the worsening – in regards to intellect, economic productivity and morality – of the American racial stock.

Ascribing to a Mexican racial identity during this time as an American citizen meant the internalization of these ideologies that deemed mixed races inferior. Stereotypes associated with this portrait of Mexican-ness, including laziness, poverty and unhygienic habits, became the catalyst for the prejudicial and racist treatment of Mexican Americans, which, according to anthropologist Nancie González, caused the creation of a new racial identity thought to communicate Whiteness and racial purity, "Spanish American."[39] These stereotypes have continued to hold weight in the Mexican American

and American community. Ramón A. Gutiérrez (2009) cites a study conducted in the 1950s by linguist Arthur L. Campa:

> When…Campa asked longtime residents of New Mexico in the 1950s what their ethnicity was, most responded, "*soy mexicano*" (I am Mexican). When he asked the same individuals what they liked to be called in English, they responded, "Spanish American." Campa then asked in Spanish, "What do you call a person from Mexico?" "*mexicano de México*" (Mexican from México). One informant remarked that in English such a person was simply a Mexican because "Mexican...is the most used when someone is being rude...Example - dirty Mexican." Another echoed these sentiments, "I'd rather not be called Mexican because of the stereotype remarks that are associated with it. Such as lazy, dirty greaser, etc."[40]

Here we see evidence that self-identifying as Spanish American instead of Mexican or Mexican American, as the Census would characterize the populations Campa studied, was a kind of counter-hegemonic exercise in self-definition that rejected the traits that the eugenicist movement had mapped onto the Mexican racial identity. However, associating oneself with Spanish ancestry instead of a Mexican one claimed a White identity and thus continued to subscribe to beliefs that placed Europeans at the top of the racial hierarchy.

Natalia Molina (2006) and Victor Jew (2006) suggest that eugenicist missions of the 1920s and 1930s that attempted to 'make sense' of the Mexican American, Chinese American and Japanese American communities in the Southwest indicated the level of anxiety in some politically well-positioned groups surrounding changing demographics of the nation. Significant to this project was an understanding of how these different communities interacted with the Anglo American community, which was assessed in order to determine if these populations could assimilate and become 'good Americans.' Photography was a crucial part of this assessment as well, particularly in studies like one in 1934 performed by German anthropologist Franz Boas that sought to examine how the

American climate changed the stature of new immigrants. For his research, Boas used "three hundred photographs, full-face and profile" of the Chinese American children who attended St. Mary's Primary School in San Fracisco.[41] These photographs were sent to schools and museums across the country, thereby fixing "the place of the Chinese type in racial classification" at the national level.[42]

Exempt momentarily from the restrictions facing Chinese immigrants due to the Chinese Exclusion Act, Japanese workers were seen as the most threatening to the American social order, while Mexicans represented a great economic potential. Molina (2006) argues that this constituted a reversal of racial ordering in which the specific concerns at the time painted Mexicans as the 'good immigrant' and Japanese and Chinese as 'bad immigrants.' Adhering to patterns of this discourse, Mexicans were thought adaptable to the American way of life, while the Japanese were pictured as "unredeemable aliens."[43]

During this time, Mexican workers continued to stage strikes, over fifty between 1933 and 1934. One in 1933 in the San Joaquin Valley resulted in the deaths of three workers and the wounding of thirteen by civilian vigilante groups.[44] These protests were in part responses to New Deal legislation, which dictated that agricultural proletariats were excluded from the legal definition of "worker," thus ensuring the prolonged exploitation of Mexican workers. By omitting those of the Southwest's Latin@ community who held U.S. citizenship from the protection the government offered from worker mistreatment, the Roosevelt administration reified social ideologies that deemed Mexican Americans eternal foreigners somehow not qualified to access civil rights citizenship ensured them. This strategy was part of a political agenda to keep the nation's

agribusiness, responsible for providing the country with food in conditions of extreme shortage, content.

In 1940 President Roosevelt combined the Bureau of Immigration and the Bureau of Naturalization to create the Immigration and Naturalization Services. Previously under the authority of the Department of Labor, the INS was now placed under the jurisdiction of the Department of Justice. This bureaucratic shift preempted a wartime sentiment that immigrants were potential threats to national laws of subversion. However, in response to a reinvigorated need for cheap and flexible labor in the post-Depression era, the U.S. and Mexican governments created the Bracero Program in 1942. The largest effort to import contract-labor in American history, 4.6 million workers were bussed in and out of the United States until the program's termination in 1964, generally working on large agricultural farms while in the U.S.[45] Ultimately, the federal government's involvement in the program was minimal, allowing individual employers to negotiate the terms of employment. Due to its success in its initial years among large scale growers in the Southwest, the Bracero Program persisted as Public Law 78 as of 1951 (which only negotiated the entry of adult males) and continued to control the border crossings of 220,000 braceros between 1942 to 1947 alone, although its peak year did not occur until 1956, when 445,000 Mexican workers were given license to enter the United States as contract workers. This number represented 30.2 percent of hired labor in California in that year.[46] The new Migrant Labor Agreement put into effect as part of Public Law 78 specified that contract workers could not be used as strike-breakers or to replace the domestic labor force. However, this was again impossible and undesirable to enforce.

The terms of the agreement dictated that bracero wages be fixed at the national "prevailing wage," also establishing a minimum wage at 30 cents an hour during World War II and 50 cents an hour during most of the 1950s. However, Ngai observes,

> in practice, the bracero program fell far short of the terms stipulated in the Migrant Labor Agreement. The fundamental principle of the program, that braceros would not be used to undermine domestic wages or to displace domestic workers, was a fiction.[47]

Most ironic was the fact that in order to establish the "prevailing" rate of wages, the Department of Labor consulted those who would benefit from keeping wages low: growers, grower associations and farm organizations, even formally excluding labor unions and other independent organizations. Ngai indicates that as such,

> over a ten-year period, the wages for tomato-picking in the San Joaquin Valley in California dropped 40 percent, during which time the proportion of braceros hired to pick them rose by 90 percent. Between 1953 and 1959, overall farm wages in the nation rose by 14 percent but remained frozen in areas that used bracero labor.[48]

Braceros filed thousands of complaints against their employers for violating the minimum wage agreement and for not meeting the standards of housing and food, to which braceros were entitled. If an employer was found guilty of violating his contract by neglecting to pay his employees, housing them in substandard conditions or providing poor quality food, the federal government responded by issuing a warning. Only if evidence of violence was found would an employer's contract be terminated.[49]

In 1952 Congress passed the McCarran-Walter Act. Although it was said to abolish the practice of determining immigration policy based on race, the Act nonetheless subtly encouraged it in three major ways: it continued to limit Asian immigration, created a preference system for job skills which favored those from developed nations of Europe, and denied entry for suspected 'subversives,' who were often those from communist

nations of Southeastern Europe, South and Central America and Asia. Indeed, Representative Adam Clayton Powell of New York City proclaimed the bill "makes this no longer a land of the free, but a place only for Anglo-Saxons."[50] President Truman was particularly disturbed by Section 340(a), which stated that a naturalized citizen could have their citizenship revoked within a decade if the individual refused to testify before a congressional committee investigating the individual's 'subversive activities.' Thus a relationship rhetorically persisted between national security and immigration policy, a discourse that proved to engender xenophobia even into the present moment.

Somewhat responding to this perceived threat of foreigners during the Cold War, the United States instituted Operation Wetback in 1954, a project that forcefully repatriated two million Mexicans and Mexican Americans while the Bracero Program (which at times undid the work of the Operation) was still in effect. About 1,075 border patrol agents collaborated with state and local law enforcement in employing raids in Mexican American neighborhoods, farms and other agricultural regions, traffic stops that amounted to racial profiling with the checking of documentation of those that supposedly 'looked Mexican.' Problematically, racialization in the United States of Mexicans, a multiracial, multiethnic and multilingual society, has normalized this statement, 'looking Mexican,' as one with merit in American lexicon. However, drawing on a racial formations perspective again helps to debunk the myth of a Mexican somatic norm image because it does not represent many Mexicans, just as the American somatic norm image does not represent many Americans. Instead, 'looking Mexican' in the American gaze recalls the specific transnational patterns of labor and migration in the Southwest and the particular regional origins of Mexicans participating in these patterns.

The INS estimated that half a million to 700,000 people left Texas for Mexico in this year as a result not of the deportations themselves, but for fear of apprehension. Massive raids and the publicity they spurred were principally invested in generating fear among Mexicans, Mexican Americans and Americans themselves, who might retaliate in anti-Latin@ violence that would encourage "voluntary" repatriation.[51] Gramsci (1971/1980) refers to this dramatic phenomenon as an effort of the state to co-opt the media in an effort to satisfy its political aims, which in this case includes popular acceptance that Mexicans were not to be permanent American citizens, but rather an inexhaustible source of seasonal cheap labor. Over the course of the program's history, braceros constituted a quarter of the labor force on farms in California, Arizona, New Mexico and Texas, which not only produced food for Americans but also advanced U.S. agriculture in the international market, as Hing (2004) points out. After the Program's termination in 1964, the U.S. Border Patrol continued to "informally collaborate" with growers in the Southwest to guarantee a supply of cheap labor and undocumented workers.[52] An important aspect of the Program's success is that it kept nativist fears at bay by employing media to depict braceros as temporary U.S. residents.

A good lens through which to examine the media's complicity in ensuring that Mexicans workers were not to be seen as potential Americans is a consideration of the contrasts *Life* Magazine presents in imagining the American citizen in contrast to the image of braceros and Mexican Americans in general. Wendy Kozol's study of *Life* Magazine demonstrates how American-ness was, for all intents and purposes, a characteristic granted to Anglo Americans: "In the hegemonic struggle to define and assert a national identity in the postwar years," she writes, "*Life* vigorously promoted a

vision of the American nation through pictures of nuclear families" none of which included citizens of color.[53] Kozol continues to write that because readers of *Life* associated what was American with what they saw in the pictures that accompanied stories like "The Kind of People Who Make Good Americans," they also equated what was absent with un-American-ness. With particular attention to the war years, Kozol indicates that the "absence of ethnic and racial diversity in *Life*'s depictions of the war effort reinforced the invisibility of other social groups' contributions to the war."[54] Kozol does not discuss images of Mexicans and Mexican Americans in *Life* Magazine during the time of the Bracero Program, which is my endeavor in the next pages.

In its 1 November 1948 issue, *Life* confronts braceros in a story entitled "Texas Entry: High wages lure Mexicans across the Rio Grande." The headlining photograph depicts a line of Mexican men bisecting the image in two with a train of entering Mexicans. This image along with a smaller one below it cover the "El Paso Incident" of October 1948 when INS officials disregarded the terms of the Bracero Program and made El Paso into a port of entry that did not check papers.

Fig. 12. *Life* Magazine, Shoes in hand, Mexican farm laborers wade river between Juarez, Mexico and El Paso, Texas after U.S. Immigration briefly lowers legal bars.

Fig. 13. *Life* Magazine, U.S. Border Patrolman watches benevolently as "braceros" get into Texas trucks.

While Mexico City denounced this act as a violation of the terms of the agreement and Washington, D.C. replied with a letter of apology, according to *Life* 5,000 braceros were "rounded up for illegal entry and promptly "paroled" to pick crops." The braceros, *Life* states, "who [would] go home richer late this fall, were unconcerned" with the U.S.' violation of the agreement. The coverage of this event powerfully demonstrates the following trends: the willingness of U.S. government to defy its own treaties to provide agribusiness with the desired labor force; the media's representation of Mexicans as criminals taking advance of the United States' higher wages; and the heightening of perceived chaos, lawlessness and perceived uncontrollability of the region that grew out of the actual willful disregard for law by the U.S. government.

In the first image, the viewer sees Mexicans crossing into the United States with shoes and literally nothing else in hand. The topography of the photograph reinforces the idea that the United States is a bountiful land of plenty and Mexico a land of poverty: the Mexican side is a sandy beach where nothing grows, while the American side is abundant with trees and grasses, out from which the photographer shoots. The Mexicans' racial identity is not only conveyed in the captions but also visually inscribed in their exhibiting of the traditional sombrero. By employing signifiers that indicate the crossers' poverty –

the photographer's decision to employ the landscape and the lack of belongings of those wading across as part of the photograph's composition – these images also reflect an understood association between Mexican identity and poverty.

In a second photograph, a patrolman's back is to the viewer, although one can see the back of his head emerging from under his uniform and his gun surfacing on his right hip. The Mexicans he observes again possess nothing physically and are calmly waiting their turn to load into the truck, its wooden bars obfuscating the bodies of those already inside. While the truck resembles a prison with its bars and cell-like appearance, the patrolman resembles a guard monitoring his prisoners. Although technically the illegal actions that prompted the El Paso Incident were carried out by the Border Patrol and perhaps even this patrolmen in particular, his gun and uniform connote the power of the law and the means to uphold it at his disposal. Conversely, as braceros are being loaded onto prison-like trucks, they may also be understood as criminals.

A systematic review of *Life* failed to discover any other magazine issues involving braceros between 1948 and 1954, the Program's peak year. It is a much longer article, growing from one to four pages and including sixteen photographs. Although *Life*'s style in general definitely leans on visuals to express the heart of the story, these sixteen photographs are only accompanied by four paragraphs and two headlines. The reader, therefore, relies on the images for most of his or her information on the story and is effectively transformed from a reader into a viewer. The language and visuals of this 1954 story are expressly different from its 1948 counterpart. Published just after a riot in Mexico broke out after a contract labor agreement between the two nations had expired and Mexico sought to keep potential braceros in Mexico while American employers

continued to recruit, the article is entitled, "Bulge of Braceros At the Border: Mexican workers create pandemonium trying to get U.S. farm jobs." The accompanying three photographs on the first page are chaotically composed. The largest is of a fence spatially dividing two uniformed White patrolmen from a never-ending crowd of Mexicans who fill the frame.

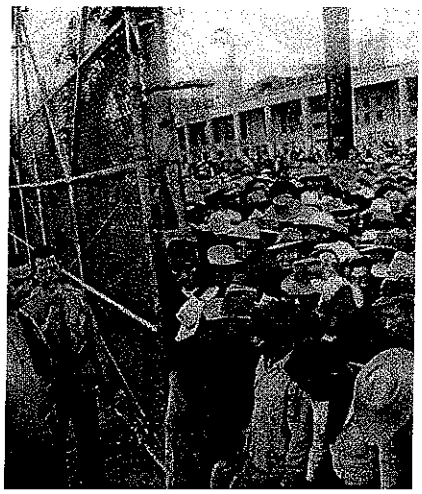

Fig. 14. *Life* Magazine, Bulge of Braceros At the Border: Mexican workers create pandemonium trying to get U.S. farm jobs.

This representation of the border is set up so that the movement of the crowd to the right of the fence pushes the left side out of the frame, as if the crowd was about to erupt in one fell swoop, trampling the two outnumbered patrolmen. However, this photograph involves the least movement out of the three, as the next three are captioned: "Illegal wetback tries to remain legally in the U.S. If he touches Mexican soil, he technically has passed through a port of entry and can stay in," and another, "End run is another wetback trick. Caught in the U.S. and herded back into Mexico, this man sprinted around border guards back into U.S., stayed in," and "Foiled wetback tried end-run trick but was caught by a Mexican guard. He and some other wetbacks were shipped to jobs in interior of Mexico."

Fig. 15. *Life* Magazine, Foiled wetback tried end-run trick but was caught by a Mexican guard. He and some other wetbacks were shipped to jobs in the interior of Mexico.

Fig. 16. *Life* Magazine, End run is another wetback trick. Caught in the U.S. and herded back into Mexico, this man sprinted around the border guards back into U.S., stayed in.

Fig. 17. *Life* Magazine, Illegal wetback tries to remain legally in the U.S. If he touches Mexican soil, he technically has passed through a port of entry and can stay in.

Here it is evident that not only have the images changed, but the language as well: "Mexican laborers" and "braceros" are now uniformly "wetbacks" in captions.[13]

[13] This ethnic slur originally referred to Mexicans who entered the United States by crossing the Rio Grande. Research did not illuminate when this word became offensive or derogatory apart from the fact

Reflecting this unlawful disorder, the article's captions use prepositions that connote movement like "in," "through," and "around," insinuating the suddenness of the seemingly disordered commotion. The photographs take on the quality of pictures of a riot, particularly the last of the page, where a Mexican policeman grabs a bracero who tries to escape his hold. These three smaller images and their captions communicate certain things about the subject of the 'wetback': that he is tricky, that he is quick, and that if he is apprehended in his own country for disobeying immigration laws, he will be "shipped" to the interior, as if to work in indentured servitude. The accompanying story tells,

> Mexican officials tried to contain the flow and even helped catch the wetbacks. Then they suddenly removed all restraints. The American Border Patrol was all but overwhelmed. As the first workers were let through for processing, the crowd's crush became punishing. *Braceros* were hurled into the arms of border cops. Sombreros and shoes were torn off...The competition for jobs went on, morning after morning, all week.

The state of emergency this story portrays is followed with a panoramic photograph on the next page of hundreds of Mexicans on a street in Mexicali.[14] They pack the frame full, but not a full face is seen: only eyes, cheeks, and isolated parts interrupted by another body or sombrero.

Next are two photographs, one smaller and one larger. The specific crimes of the bracero passing over a crowd are not mentioned here, but what is shown is a body passing over the heads of others, seemingly standing on them. The faces of the two directly below him indicate pain. The smaller photograph is the only one that does not cause a sense of pandemonium, and is perhaps smaller for this reason.

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that since its origin it was used to connote a Mexican's undocumented presence in the United States, which was a stereotype mapped onto many Mexicans and Mexican Americans from its first usage.

[14] Appendix Fig. 10.

Fig. 18. *Life* Magazine, Unruly "Bracero" is lifted by crowd and passed over heads to front where border guards will toss him to the side out of the main line of entry.

A farmworker is depicted in the field picking carrots, bent almost perfectly parallel to the horizon, his face again obscured but this time by the shade of his hat.[15] The caption tells us, "Mexicans do not mind bending and the sun does not bother them," an attempt at educating readers as to the idiosyncrasies of another race.

The striking lack of portraiture here contributes to an understood dehumanization. Unlike Augustus Sherman's photographs at Ellis Island, these are not meant to image an isolated body with uniqueness but an overwhelming collective. However, both *Life*'s and Sherman's photographs are engaged in defining racial types. In *Life*'s case, the photographs of Mexicans do not necessarily convey information about Mexicans as if they were an unknown group, as some of Sherman's subjects were. Instead, they convey a particular groups of Mexicans (braceros) in the very particular quest of crossing into the United States, which at the time was a phenomenon gaining unprecedented national media attention and fueling national hysteria. Operation Wetback sought to quell these anxieties.

[15] Appendix Fig. 11.

The tone in which *Life*'s 1954 article, published the same year Operation Wetback began, reflects this hysteria, which was not as prominent a feature of civic discourse presented in *Life*'s 1948 article. Some of this shift is explained by data: according to INS Annual Reports, in 1949 there were 107,000 braceros admitted, 7,977 other legal immigrants granted entry and 233,485 undocumented persons apprehended. By 1953, the recorded number of undocumented immigrants who were apprehended had grown by almost three-fold to 676,602. 201,380 braceros entered the country legally in this year and the number of other immigrants rose to 18,459.[55] Many of these undocumented Mexicans crossed the border in response to employers growing recruitment efforts, which they had begun to do in the interior of Mexico, not just at the border as was the prior norm. Anti-Mexican fears were excited in The Lewiston Daily Sun's article from January 27, 1954:

> ...experts question if either [Mexico or the United States] can stop the wetbacks, first because there are too many of them, and the lure of higher pay in the U.S. is too strong; second, because the entire farm economy of the Southwest and much of the economy of northern Mexico, has come to rely on this source of cheap labor...some way will have to be found to stop the persistent wetbacks.[56]

President Truman, too, urged as early as 1951 that the problem of "phenomenal numbers" of illegal immigrants crossing the U.S./Mexico border had to be resolved.

However, the next article in *Life*'s November 1954 issue is entitled, "Still They Come On To Pursue A Dream," and paints a picture of a Mexican family living off the husband's bracero wages.[16] The photographs on the first page, one of husband and wife with their newborn and one of the husband reading the paper in a hammock, all show that Toni Barranco has "made it" thanks to his days as a bracero. However, the text illustrates how Mr. Barranco entered the United States, even though he had never done manual

[16] Appendix Fig. 12.

labor, was well educated and spoke English: "He was careful to conceal this from border officials," says the caption of the picture of him in a hammock. The article states that Toni "set about transforming himself" from an educated Mexican into a farm worker by toughening his hands by repeatedly twisting a hose, putting on old clothes, rubbing his hands with potato, and pouring formaldehyde on them, then rubbing them in gravel to fool the Border Patrol who "check to make sure workers can do hard farm work."[57] The photographs recreate Toni's transformation by picturing a hose, formaldehyde and a photograph of Toni's hands.

Fig. 19. *Life* Magazine, Hose was twisted over and over to toughen hands. Toni recreated preparations for *Life*. Transformed Toni shows darkened hands, old clothes he wore to U.S. Rubbing hands with potato added roughness. Formaldehyde was used to make his hands peel. Then he rubbed them in gravel.

Thus although this article demonstrates an atypical view of the bracero, thought to be uneducated and experienced with agricultural work, it simultaneously reinforces popularly held stereotypes about Mexicans and Latin@s that held that they were natural criminals and swindlers. This stereotype is mirrored by other *Life* headlines, including "Wetbacks Swarm In: Mexicans Disrupt Border Economy by Sneaking Over for Low Wages" and "They Sneak Across, Ride Back and Then Sneak Across Again," from 21 May 1951. Again, words that are associated simultaneously with unlawful and uncontrollable actions are utilized to communicate certain attributes said to be held by Mexican laborers.

However, the work being done in the realm of popular culture to define the Mexican population in the Southwest of the United States is significant in that it strongly divides the somatic norm image of the ideal American family and household and that of the Mexican worker. These are some of the factors that contribute to what Leo Chávez (2008) calls the "Latino Threat Narrative," which he uses to describe a unique rhetoric reserved for Latin@ immigrants. He states,

> The Latino Threat Narrative posits that Latinos are not like previous immigrant groups, who ultimately became part of the nation. According to the assumptions and taken-for-granted "truths" inherent in this narrative, Latinos are unwilling or incapable of integrating, of becoming part of the national community. Rather, they are part of an invading force from south of the border that is bent on reconquering land that was formerly theirs (the U.S. Southwest) and destroying the American way of life.[58]

Stories published by *Life* and others posit this supposed fundamental unwillingness or incapability of Latin@s to become Americans – i.e. assimilate into American mainstream popular culture – by presenting Latin@ subjects breaking the law or having no concern for it.

As Ono & Sloop (2002), Chávez (2008) and others have shown, this narrative applies not only to Mexican immigrants, but also is extended to all Latin Americans, including those with American citizenship and ancestry. While *Life*'s documentary photographs may seem to be an objective retelling of events, the lack of information about Mexicans, Mexican Americans, Latin@s and people of color in general who embody American values of law and order leads the general reader to associate criminality, disrespect and manipulation with all those who they see as physically resembling the Mexican workers pictured. Just as the fez embodies the Turk discussed in Chapter 1, lawbreaking and rowdiness are attached to people of Mexican and Latin@

descent, thereby deeming them a population undesirable as citizens. Because this discourse highlights illegality, even those with American citizenship are marginalized as illegitimate citizens, as the assumption is that they gained citizenship in some covert manner, doubly unworthy of social benefits and even human rights.

Nicholas De Genova (2003; 2004) has argued that this stigma has principally affected Mexican immigrants. In some respects however, the real dynamic of this targeting has to do with the fact that non-Mexican Latin@s are popularly presumed to be Mexicans due to the force with which the media has painted the threat of illegal immigration, and the fact that our historical knowledge of illegal immigration resides in images like those in *Life* Magazine of people we are told are Mexican. For example, according to the 1970 Census half of Latin@s in the United States were of Mexican origin; people of Central and South American origin comprised another 28.3 percent.[59] Over time, these proportions have not changed dramatically: according to the 2000 Census, 57 percent of immigrants were born in Mexico.[60] However, national media attention regarding immigration was and is firmly positioned at the U.S./Mexico border, which has spatially come to visually represent illegal immigration. Thus Latin@s, who may or may not have even passed through that space, are racially coded as foreigners whose identity is circumscribed by illegality. A phenomenon of national origin lumping thus materialized, whereby any immigrant from South of the U.S./Mexico Border is labeled Mexican. This racialization is the process by which a multiracial, multilingual, multinational Latin@ population in the United States is uniformly regarded 'Mexican,' and specifically a Mexican who is part indigenous and part Spanish. This process of racialization extended to all Latin@s in the United States with very few exceptions ignore

the racial heterogeneity of Mexicans as well as Latin@s and discursively excludes the presence of those of African, Middle Eastern, or European descent. The lumping together of all Latin@s under this stereotype also has the effect of compressing what are in fact extremely diverse indigenous communities in all of Central and South America. For these reasons, the process of racialization that Latin@s undergo in the United States is highly problematic in that it wrongly and nonsensically groups individuals into groups that are not even monolinguistic, let alone part of a single community with shared values.

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[4] Mae M. Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton & Oxford: Princeton UP, 2004), p. 173.
[5] Warren cited in Ngai, p. 176.
[6] Weglyn Michi, *Years of Infamy: the Untold Story of America's Concentration Camps* (New York: Morrow, 1976), pp. 196-199.
[7] Ngai, p. 196.
[8] Kent A. Ono & John M. Sloop, *Shifting Borders: Rhetoric, Immigration, and California's Proposition 187* (Philadelphia: Temple UP, 2002), p. 103.
[9] Gould, p. 115.
[10] Ono & Sloop, pp. 81-82.
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[17] Ibid., p. 156.
[18] Ibid., p. 157.
[19] *New York Tribune*, Sept. 29, 1854, cited in Stuart Creighton Miller, *The Unwelcome Immigrant; the American Image of the Chinese, 1785-1882* (Berkeley: University of California, 1969), p. 169.
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[21] Hing, p. 120.
[22] Ibid., p. 121
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[24] Ibid., p. 184.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Gerald P. López, "Undocumented Mexican Migration: In Search of a Just Immigration Law and Policy," *UCLA Law Review* 28.615 (1981): 657, cited in Hing, p. 122.

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[28] Hing, p. 124.
[29] Ngai, p. 131.
[30] Ibid., p. 135.
[31] Hing, p. 126.
[32] Victor Jew, "Getting the Measure of Tomorrow: Chinese and Chicano Americans under the Racial Gaze, 1934-1935 and 1942-1944" in Nicholas De Genova, ed., *Racial Transformations: Latinos and Asians Remaking the United States*, (Durham and London: Duke UP, 2006), p. 75.
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[34] Ibid., p. 168.
[35] Ibid., p. 150.
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[37] Ramón A. Gutiérrez, "Hispanic Identities in the Southwestern United States" in Ilona Katzew and Susan Deans-Smith, *Race and Classification: The Case of Mexican America* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 2009), p. 186.
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[41] "Article Written Up in S.F. News" included with "Final Progress Report," a typed copy of "Chinese to Get Pictures Taken: SERA Wants to See if Our Climate Changes Them," *San Francisco News*, n.d., cited in Jew, p. 70.
[42] "Article Written Up in S.F. News" included with "Final Progress Report," a typed copy of "Chinese to Get Pictures Taken: SERA Wants to See if Our Climate Changes Them," *San Francisco News*, n.d., cited in Jew, p. 73.
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[44] Ngai, p. 135.
[45] Ibid., p. 138.
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Militarization of the U.S./Mexico border and the criminal immigrant on the Immigration and Customs Enforcement Agency's website

The year after the official termination of the Bracero Program, Congress passed the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965. This legislation abolished national origins quotas and created an annual ceiling of 170,000 immigrants from the Eastern Hemisphere and 120,000 from the Western Hemisphere. Since then, annual ceilings have been raised and hemispherical quotas have also been abolished. While this transformation in immigration policy has dramatically affected American racial demographics, George Sanchez writes that the shift has "not substantially changed the racial terrain upon which Asians and Latin@s are considered as part of (or not part of) the American nation."[1] Sanchez argues that the less racist legislation has instead "raised the stakes" of the immigration debate, as with every year that passes the American population of color grows at a faster rate than does its Anglo counterpart. In the context of the latter half of the twentieth century, nativism has taken on racial connotations due to the fact that immigrants have since been predominantly people of color. In 1990, for example, 22 percent of legal immigrants were from Asia and 63 percent were from Latin America.

Since 1990, these proportions have basically remained constant: according to the 2010 U.S. Census, immigrants of Asian origin comprised 27 percent of the total foreign-born population and Latin Americans comprised 54 percent of the total foreign-born population – combined, Asian and Latin American immigrants represent 81 percent of the U.S.' foreign-born. European immigrants only represent 12 percent.[2] The end of the Bracero Program brought increased undocumented immigration, as needs for farm and other manual laborers did not evaporate with its termination. In addition, and perhaps more importantly, the Program crystallized American labor markets' dependency on an

immigrant workforce, a dependency that proved a structural permanence for the U.S. economy.

Adding a push factor to the U.S. agricultural sector's pull, Mexico's economy during the 1960s began to plunge. The 1968 student protests in Mexico City and its violent suppression worried investors as to political stability, and by the mid-1970s capital flight, currency devaluation and political unrest were widespread. Although petroleum reserves were discovered, offering a light at the end of the tunnel, the crash in oil prices in 1982 led Mexico to default on its foreign debt. As economic stagnation in the 1970s plagued the Northern side of the border, curbing immigration became an increasingly salient topic of political discourse. Increasingly, the United States moved to restrict Mexican immigration, including the 1976 amendments to the Immigration and Nationality Act, depressing legal Mexican immigration by 40 percent in the following year.[3] In 1978, Congress established a worldwide annual cap on immigration of 290,000, and in 1980 the cap was further reduced to 270,000. The coupling of increasingly exclusionary policies with growing rates of poverty in Mexico led to a dramatic rise in undocumented immigration as well as a surge in apprehensions of border-crossers.

As such, between 1965 and 1986, the Border Patrol exploded in size (growing from 1,500 officers to 3,700), responsibility (annual apprehensions climbed from 55,000 to 1.7 million) and funding, bringing with it a new kind of national consciousness of the border.[4] Public awareness was also spurred by the fact that growing numbers of immigrants opted to remain permanently in the U.S., increasing their visibility in urban areas like Los Angeles, San Diego, San Francisco, Chicago, Dallas, Houston and New York City. As Melissa Johnson's 2003 study reveals, trends in national media coverage

of the border transformed during this time period. Johnson indicates a few important trends concerning graphics and imagery used by the media from the 1970s to the 1990s: that portrayals of Mexican immigrants as passive and inactive gave way to more aggressive, active imagery later; that the visual representation of the U.S./Mexico border changed from thin lines to thicker and darker markers; that images of the fence on the border became more commonplace; and that dark imagery was used more often to represent the border as time went on. Darkness, perhaps symbolizing illegitimate or unlawful activity, was also commonly associated with violence in news reports. Technology, suggests Johnson, was represented as the solution to a problem largely defined spatially as one of chaos and suspicion. These observations simultaneously reflect and reinforce the public's panic that placed an intensified pressure on government to take action in 'controlling' the border.

Indeed, serious economic recession in the 1970s and early 1980s provoked a significant reexamination of national identity in the Andersonian sense. A new, more conservative movement in American politics began with the election of Ronald Reagan in 1980, and the rhetoric illustrating immigrants as potential terrorists or subversives was intensified as a legitimate platform for political gain. In a 1983 article in *The Washington Post*, Reagan was quoted as firmly allying himself with this discourse: "A tidal wave of refugees – and this time they'll be 'feet people' and not boat people," he qualifies, "swarming into our country seeking safe haven from communist repression to the south."[5] Peter Andreas declared in his 2000 study of the militarization of the border that "loss of control became the narrative used by politicians and the media to discuss the border and movements across it."[6] As a result, the Immigration and Naturalization

Service's budget, ICE's precursor, nearly doubled between 1986 and 1990, between $366 million to $694 million in four years. According to Rudolph, the most substantial funding increases were dedicated to the Border Patrol, Inspections and Deportations.[7] Another solution to allay these insecurities and fears was conceived in infusing apprehension strategies with military technology, which began simply, although the process quickly escalated, with the construction of a fence along the San Diego-Tijuana border in 1992.

However, this tactic only created new techniques of evasion on the part of immigrants and smugglers that were dubbed "banzai runs." Fifty or more immigrants would run at once across the border into the traffic of Interstate 5, hoping to elude capture by the less numerous border officials. This approach buttressed understandings of the border as chaotic and uncontrollable, especially with the Border Patrol's publicizing of a public relations video that taped the process, *Border Under Siege*. This tape reinforced alarmist perspectives of immigration as an overwhelming danger, threatening the safety of America's very infrastructure. Andreas states in this context: "From the political perspective, the way the media and the public see the border is more important than actual deterrence."[8] In this sense, patrolling the border and attempts to reinstate control of the region takes on a ritualistic quality, whereby the exercise of policing becomes a demonstration of the power of the state. This ritual must occur in order to maintain solidified the necessity of excluding certain bodies from integrating into the national imagination for the preservation of a certain national identity that upholds Northwestern European somatic features as emblematizing American citizenship. The fact that the

border was never, and perhaps can never be, a thick and strict line that espouses American dominance with respect to Mexico, is almost irrelevant in this context.

This relationship of exerting power over the U.S.' Southern neighbors manifests itself again in the passing of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1994. A rise in economic integration paralleled increased transnational movement, but instead of the rhetoric that purported the Agreement would import capital but not labor, the last years of the twentieth century was a witness to unprecedented migration from Mexico to the United States, in both legal and illegal forms. In order to combat this phenomenon, the U.S. adopted a contradictory stance that sought to integrate the markets of the three nations while also stepping up its efforts at maintaining physical separation between itself and Mexico, again indicating the profoundly ambiguous relationship between the two countries.

The 1990s saw a flurry of state initiatives, mainly in the Southwest, that sought to exclude immigrants from accessing social services. These actions were largely symbolic in that they have as yet not been enforced, however they succeeded in shifting the frame of appropriate rhetoric with which the immigration debate was discussed. As Ono & Sloop (2002) demonstrate, initiatives like Proposition 187 in California reflected and reinforced a hysterical political climate in which it was almost unthinkable that politicians running for election would not propose a method of curbing immigration, legal and illegal. Douglass Massey et al state that "most state actions were symbolic gestures with few practical consequences; they simply provided voters or legislators with a tangible means of registering their dislike of foreigners."[9] Thus although many of the politicians promulgating anti-immigration policy knew many of their projects would not

materialize, the very fact that people were publicly, aggressively and actively verbalizing their xenophobic sentiments transformed the terms of the immigration debate, actually legitimating a fervent hatred of foreigners as rational and normal.

Federal initiatives, however, did materialize. In a series of undertakings in the mid-1990s, the border region became a heavily militarized zone: floodlights, steel fences, motion detectors, infrared scopes, trip wires, magnetic footfall detectors, electronic finger-printing systems and other forms of surveillance were installed at busy border-crossings. A media frenzy diligently documented this transformation, transfixed by the installation of wartime high-tech machinery to 'combat' the images of chaos dominating the American imagination. Through these projects – Operations Hold-the-Line (Texas, 1993), Gatekeeper (California, 1994) Safeguard (Arizona, 1995) and Rio Grande (Texas, 1997) – fears of invasion and terrorism were confronted and simultaneously exacerbated by media attention and accompanying images of the region. However, undocumented immigration was in reality not discouraged: even after deportation, migrants would simply attempt a second time. Massey found that an undocumented immigrant has a one-in-three chance of being apprehended. Therefore, after four tries, there is an 80 percent chance that he or she will successfully enter the country.[10]

A significant result of these initiatives has been a staggering upswing in the number of migrant deaths, as these programs individually and collectively concentrate pathways of immigration in territory known for uninhabitable terrain and extreme weather patterns. The INS has recognized that these characteristics present "mortal danger" to those traveling through it: effectively, then, the aforementioned projects that construct walls, fences and employ other methods of deterrence represent a fundamental

disregard for human life. As Joseph Nevins has written, Operation Gatekeeper in particular has constructed the border region as one

> in which civil and human rights are effectively less than they are elsewhere in the United States, making it a zone of exception (one that seems to be ever growing), a site in which the state acts in a manner outside of normal constraints and takes extreme measures for the declared sake of security.[11]

This spatially defined dynamic illustrates the border region in a constant state of emergency, even a constant state of war (with casualties), more so than the rest of the country. Although exact numbers of migrant deaths are contested, according to the California Rural Legal Assistance Foundation and U.S. Border Patrol, there were 23 migrant deaths on the California-Mexico border in 1994, 61 in 1995, 59 in 1996, 89 in 1997, 147 in 1998, 113 in 1999, 140 in 2000 and 21 in 2001. In total, 329 migrants died along the U.S./Mexico border in 1998. INS efforts to educate migrants about the dangers involved in crossing the border not withstanding, the annual death toll rose to 358 in 1999 and 499 in 2000.[12] Between 2001 and 2008, total of 4,101 migrant deaths occurred, an annual average of 586.[13] These figures demonstrate the degree to which intensified militarization of the border indicates a fundamental disregard for human life.

The Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1986 (IRCA), its reformation in 1990 and the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (PRWORA) tightened immigration policy on several fronts. While they enacted tougher sanctions on employers, smugglers, undocumented immigrants and visa overstayers, they also restricted immigrant access to federal benefits like loans and health care (only in emergencies could an undocumented immigrant receive attention in a hospital, excluding prenatal care), and increased the income threshold for immigrants applying to sponsor a family member to join them. In addition,

legal immigrants were denied access to Supplemental Security Income (SSI) and food stamps until they became naturalized. Some of these provisions directly stem from those state initiatives previously mentioned. In effect, however, what these bills did was increase the incentives for immigrants to naturalize and gain citizenship, thereby also opening the door to their immediate family-members. However, IRCA also broadened the scope of crimes considered "aggravated felonies" for which a non-citizen could be deported, with the proviso that deportation could occur retroactively – if someone had pled guilty to a crime not previously inciting deportation, they could now be deported based on admission of guilt.

Since September 11, 2001, the border region has been framed as the quintessential issue in homeland security, revisiting ideas from the 1920s and 1940s that depicted immigrants as terrorists, subversives and as general threats to national security. In the first decade of the twenty-first century, this phenomenon has had the effect of equating threats to national security with non-American citizenship, reifying dominant ideologies of who is eligible for U.S. citizenship. Indeed, discourses of the safety and security of the American territory are progressively homogenizing the image of who is an American citizen in such a blatant manner that is perhaps unprecedented in American history. Partly representative of this shift, in 2002 the INS was transferred to the newly-established Department of Homeland Security, a gesture that indicates the federal government's imprimatur endorsement of the popularly held association between national security and restriction of immigration.

Narrowing of the image of an American citizen has had violent consequences. People of color, in particular Muslims and those of Middle Eastern or South Asian

descent, have been targeted as victims of hate crimes as foreigners, terrorists and fundamentally un-American, their long history as American citizens notwithstanding. In 2009, 8,336 incidents of hate crimes occurred, 48.8 percent of which were racially motivated, 18.9 percent motivated by religious bias, and 13.3 percent based on national origin bias. Of the 1,575 victims of hate crimes motivated by religious bias, 8.4 percent were categorized as "anti-Islamic" or anti-Muslim. Of the 1,109 victims of hate crimes motivated by national origin bias, 62.4 percent were directed against Latin@s.[14] In contrast, in 2000 there were 8,063 incidents of hate crime committed, 53.8 percent racially-motivated, 18.3 percent by religious bias and 11.3 percent by national origin bias. 1.9 percent of those motivated by religious bias were anti-Muslim hate crimes. Of the 911 hate crimes derived from anti-national origin sentiment, 61 percent of these were directed towards Latin@s.[15] Therefore, while the number of hate crimes directed towards Latin@s has remained relatively constant post-September 11, hate crimes against Muslims have dramatically increased from 1.9 percent to 8.4 percent.

These figures represent a de-Americanization of Muslim Americans. Hing states that the process of de-Americanization is

> a twisted brand of xenophobia that is not simply hatred of foreigners, but also hatred of those who in fact may not be foreigners but whom the vigilantes would prefer being removed from the country anyway.[16]

This newly-revved up form of nativism has raised the stakes for reexamining images in popular culture that rhetorically delineate citizen from foreigner, saint from criminal, hard-worker from public charge. Liz Fekete (2001) and others have deemed this phenomenon "xeno-racism," indicating a trend in which traditional xenophobia, considered by some a natural (perhaps normal) hatred of foreigners, takes on racist

qualities due to the fact that the majority of targets of xenophobia are people of color. Part of this trend concerns itself with a post-September 11 nativism that stresses a state of emergency and therefore implies a necessary re-evaluation of who can be considered an American, what becomes in effect a limiting of those capable of publicly claiming an American identity without violent consequences. In this context, the somatic norm image of Americanism has developed into a question of life or death.

In a post-Sepetember 11 context, the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) was established as a law enforcement agency established pursuant to the Homeland Security Act of 2002. This Act merged the INS (which had previously been part of the Department of Justice) and U.S. Customs Service. ICE's jurisdiction covers threats to national security as it relates to transnational immigration and commerce. ICE agents do not need arrest or search warrants, nor do they need probable cause to question individuals as to their immigration status or to search their person or their homes. Miranda rights do not apply to those arrested by ICE, and while detained immigrants do have a right to a lawyer, they are ineligible for a public defense attorney and can therefore only hire one that they can pay for. In a *New York Times* article from 14 October 2007, Jan C. Ting, law professor and former assistant commissions of the INS stated simply, "Immigration law enforcement is all about getting you to where you belong, which is outside the United States."[17] According to its website, ICE employs 20,000 individuals both domestically and internationally in its two branches: Homeland Security Investigations (HSI) and Enforcement and Removal Operations (ERO). While HSI is responsible for investigating crimes relating to immigration, human rights violations, art theft, human trafficking, drug and arms trafficking, terrorism, computer

crimes and others, ERO is charged with "enforcing the nation's immigration laws in a fair and effective manner," identifying and apprehending "removable aliens," detaining them "when necessary," and "remov[ing] illegal aliens from the U.S."

ICE's website is a valuable resource for examining the dimensions of its self-representation, which can by extension be viewed as a representation of the federal government's attitude toward its immigration policy specifically, and ideas about American citizenship more generally. Important for this project is the site's reliance on photographs and videos to communicate the work and responsibilities of the agency. These range from photographs and videos of news conferences, of workplace raids to arrest undocumented workers, of detaining criminals and photographs of those on both HSI's and ERO's list of most wanted persons. The site is extremely extensive in the information it shares. Beginning with a description of the site's layout and the information it relays, I will then move to discuss some of the specific images used and how they convey concepts of citizenship, rights, personhood law and law enforcement. As an exhaustive account of the site would be irrelevant in many ways, I will focus on the aspects of it most relevant to my project.

The homepage, http://ice.gov, highlights a slideshow of photographs of ICE's "Latest News," which often includes a combination of images from press conferences, arrests and raids. A list of ICE's Most Wanted is the second tab after "Latest News" below the slideshow. This is comprised of a series of 12 headshots; two other links provide a complete list of both HSI's and ERO's Most Wanted. Each name in the list below the headshot is a link to access the individual's profile, where information concerning their particular crimes, age, origin, skin tone, height, weight, eye and hair

color, distinguishing marks, occupation and last known location. The third tab is entitled "Images/Videos," divided into two sections: "ICE Image Galleries" and "ICE Videos," each of which have ten entries that range in date.[17] The videos' topics include recruitment videos, public advisories and press conferences. Most of these, as well as the "Latest News" briefs, are dedicated to informing the viewer of ICE's successes in arresting criminals, deporting non-nationals or in discovering smuggling networks, drugs, weapons or other goods that violate U.S. intellectual property laws like DVDs, clothing or pharmaceuticals.

HSI's Recruitment video is instructive in terms of how the agency views itself and the importance of its work. Various aspects of being an agent are addressed, including training, responsibilities (investigating gangs, cyber crime, financial crimes, and terrorism) and specific task forces. One of these is the Border Enforcement Security Task Force (BEST). The video shows agents scaling the sides of boats, performing traffic stops and questioning drivers at the U.S./Mexico border. The narrator states that BEST agents "deal with border violence and investigate assaults on Officers and U.S. Citizens." As the narrator reads, "New HSI Special Agents should be prepared to work at a Southwest Border Office along the U.S.-Mexican Border...The landscape of the Southwest Border is vast, hot and dangerous." The viewer sees images of the Mexican flag, a plaque indicating the line separating Mexico and the United States, and of a river. This topic is initiated alongside the commencement of background music that looms dangerous, mysterious, and fear-inspiring.

[17] Although these images/videos are not dated, from prolonged research it was found that images/videos stay on the site for an indefinite period – they are not updated regularly.

The narrator continues, "the majority of the work performed by HSI Special Agents is related to narcotics interdiction," while we see images of ICE agents at the border checking cars and questioning people, "human smuggling and trafficking, investigating illegal alien stash house or hostage resolve operations," while scenes of agents in bullet-proof vests and holding guns at the door of a house appear. The narrator moves on to say, "HSI Special Agents are trained to recognize victims of human trafficking, slave labor or indentured servitude." The two photographs that accompany this sentence are entirely illegible: it is uncertain who the subjects are, what they are doing, where they are and how their behavior relates to human trafficking or slave labor. The first is shot from above so that the tops of subjects' heads obscure their faces. They are shown squatting in a narrow space between a wall and a series of barrels. The next photograph is of a group of people, again shot from above but this time at more of a distance, sitting around two tables.

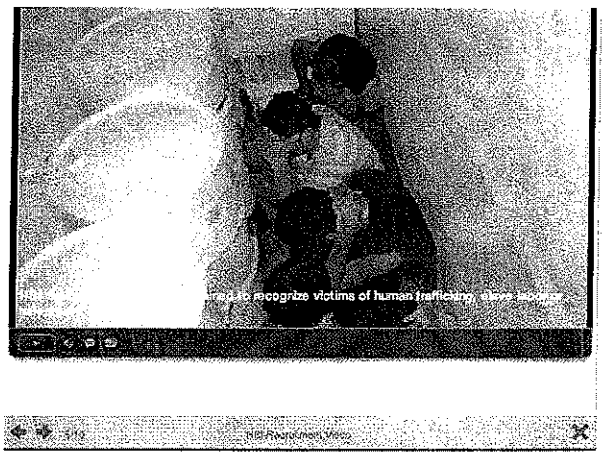

Fig. 20. http://ice.gov, HSI Special Agents are trained to recognize victims of human trafficking, slave labor or indentured servitude.

Fig. 21. http://ice.gov, HSI Special Agents are trained to recognize victims of human trafficking, slave labor or indentured servitude.

The lack of clarity of meaning in the photograph means that the viewer must draw on preexisting knowledge of the connection between human smuggling or slave labor.

Perhaps the first photograph of four people squatting is meant to be a group of immigrants being smuggled into the U.S. and the second a ring of smugglers. Thus the two groups are implicitly represented as stereotypical criminals and victims, one group without any power or space to move freely and another responsible for that loss of freedom. These images not only convey stereotypes in the sense that they rely on general depictions of people without individualization, but also on the level that divides groups of people of color into two totalizing categories of the criminal and the victim. This process of casting these groups as such in the context of ICE's website signifies their un-American-ness because they are stripped of the ability to ensure self-determination or manifest destiny, ideals held very dear in the American value system: one group will be apprehended and the other probably deported, both ultimately victims of an exercise in power relations between ICE and the individuals with whom it deals. The next statement by the narrator reads,

> HSI Special Agents identify, target, and arrest violent transnational street gangs by developing intelligence on gang members, then seize cash, weapons, and other

> illegal assets, to deter, disrupt, and dismantle these criminal enterprises. The final stages of the enforcement action would be prosecution and removal of illegal alien gang members from the United States.

The meaning behind the accompanying images are better understood here: first we see the naked back of a man with his wrists handcuffed behind him as ICE agents usher him into a police vehicle.

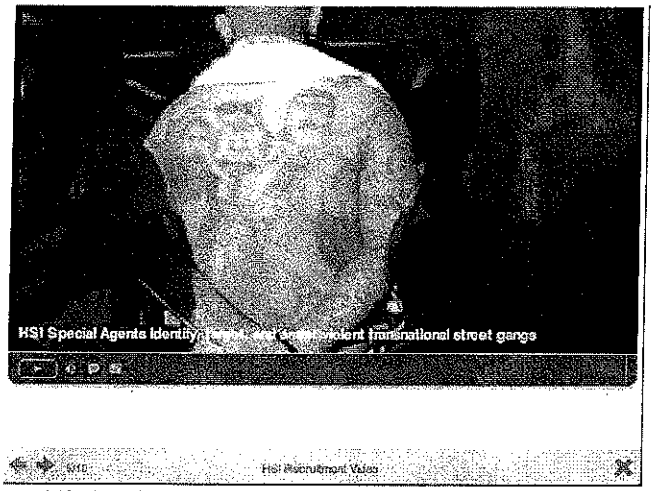

Fig. 22. http://ice.gov, HSI Special Agents identify, target, and arrest violent transnational street gangs.

His back is heavily tattooed. A different man's back is shown a few scenes later during the narrator's final sentence, again with hands handcuffed behind him and again with a heavily tattooed back.

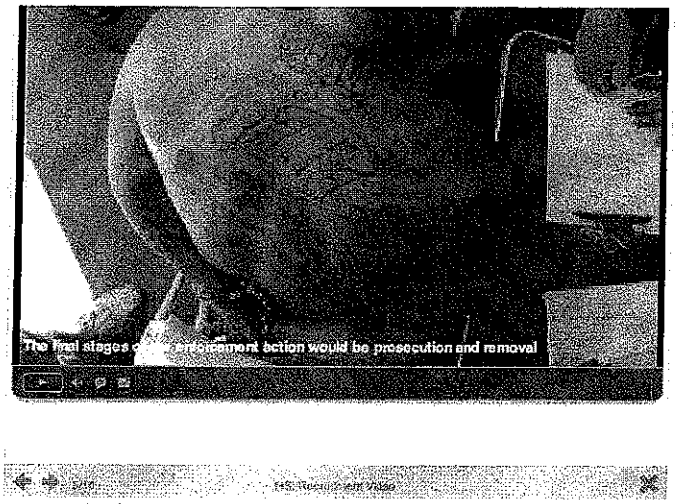

Fig. 23. http://ice.gov, The final stages of the enforcement action would be prosecution and removal.

In neither photograph do we see the men's faces. In the next scene, we see ICE agents leading a handcuffed man – it is unknown if he is someone different from the first two or one of them – into a small white room and shutting the thick white door. A big glass window separates the inside of the room from the outside, symbolizing the relentless surveillance of detainees that occurs in detention facilities.

These images, informed by narration as depicting perpetrators of violence and criminality, are focused on the subjects' corporality, showing them shirtless and from behind, instead of their unique facial attributes. They are also reminiscent of many other images in popular culture, including recent campaign advertisements. One campaign's TV ad stands out as particularly relevant: a controversial series of ads for Sharron Angle's campaign for U.S. Senator in Nevada in 2010.[18] Although Angle ran unsuccessfully, she still managed to garner 45 percent of the vote. One advertisement begins with images of people stealthily walking behind a fence at night, determined to be "illegal aliens," followed by a shot of a group of smiling White students dressed in graduation garb juxtaposed with a portrait of three young Latin@ men with the subtitle "Illegal Aliens," and then a shot of three White construction workers. A second similar Angle ad shows the El Paso Border Station and a group of stocky men walking menacingly towards the camera, again at night, while the narrator reads, "Waves of illegal aliens streaming across our border joining violent gangs forcing families to live in fear." A young White family is shown disturbed by the stack of bills on the kitchen counter, followed by mug shots of Latino men. Angle's depiction of the "Latino threat" is similar to those proposed by ICE's website: both illustrate that Latino masculinity is dangerous, its very existence within American borders dangerous and antithetical to

[18] Appendix Fig. 13.

lawful American citizenship. In addition, surveillance becomes a visualized issue in both cases: in Angle's ad the scenes of Latinos are viewed through a television screen (pictured within the screen of the viewer's on TV) while ICE illustrates the need for a transparent glass surface between agent and detainee to ensure the constant visibility of the detainees actions.

This similarity between these depictions of Latin@ immigrants is problematic because while Sharron Angle is entitled to ascribe to whatever viewpoint she believes will result in her election, ICE is a federally-funded agency seeking to uphold the laws of the American state. Furthermore, the problematizing of this similarity reveals the inadequacy, to some degree, of voter engagement around the immigration dialectic because although Sharron Angle was not elected, her perspective is at least superficially supported by the imagery employed by ICE. Through its imagery, ICE allies itself with Angle's perspective, representing Latino masculinity as inherently criminal and thus in need of policing and removal from the state. Although ICE is engaged in apprehending non-citizens and Angle is dealing indiscriminately with citizens and non-citizens, the stark similarities between the two videos demonstrates the degree to which the categories of non-citizen and citizen are conflated and deemed almost irrelevant in regards to Latin@s in America: both are problematized in similar fashion in the political and public arenas as criminal and un-American.

It is interesting that in this same HSI Recruitment video there are only two individuals interviewed about their experiences working as HSI special agents and what they believe to be desired traits for others seeking employment with them. One of these is a man who appears to be Latino, the other is a woman who appears to be African

American. Both are unnamed, young, shown wearing navy and black polo shirts respectively and are well spoken.

Fig. 24. http://ice.gov, HSI Special Agent, It's not easy. It works you mentally, physically and emotionally.

Fig. 25. http://ice.gov, HSI Special Agent, The person has to be willing to learn, have to have an open mind.

Both stress the hard work of being a HSI agent, the need for flexibility in dealing with a variety of assignments, that one "has to keep an open mind" and be "willing to learn," and the mental and physical commitment necessary for the position. Of the job, the young woman concludes with stating that recruits "should definitely be prepared for the challenge upon entry." The young man echoes, "Go for it – it's a challenge, but it's a very rewarding job."

These two individuals are the only representatives of the agency given a voice in this video, which indicates that the agency lauds diversity in the workplace. However, their exclusive participation in the video complicates deeming ICE's involvement in

reifying the hegemonic status quo with regard to the treatment of people of color, particularly in treating Latin@s as permanent foreigners. As with *Life*'s depiction of Japanese internees during World War II, the good immigrant/bad immigrant narrative emerges. However, the narrative distorts itself by showcasing 'good' citizens of the same racial group as 'bad' immigrants, in some way preemptively addressing a xeno-racist attack by pointing to examples in which individuals that do not fit into the American somatic norm image can still rise in the workplace, responsible for upholding the law like any other American.

In this context, the African American woman and Latino man are imagined in stark contrast to the other people of color in the video: Black and Latino men who are shown getting arrested having committed a crime – the 'bad' or undesirable immigrant or citizen who is unable and unwilling to commit to adopting American values of justice. Therefore, to some extent the message of this video is that although some people of color break the law, it is due to their extralegal actions, not their race, that they are persecuted. If they adopted the behavior of the two ICE agents, worked hard and followed the agents' advice to "Go for it" and "be prepared for the challenge," they too can work for ICE and become good, productive citizens active in upholding the American law and fulfilling the American Dream.

A second video provides a counterpoint to HSI's Recruitment Video, concerned with ERO's responsibilities and activities, broken up into eight categories. The first task outlined in the video is "Identifying aliens for arrest and eventual removal," then "Managing aliens in immigration court proceedings," "Providing safe, secure, and humane confinement when detention of an alien is necessary," "Providing quality health

care to detainees," "Ensuring detention facilities meet high standards," "Managing aliens in alternatives to detention programs," "Removing aliens from the United States," "Targeting aliens who pose a risk to public safety," "Targeting aliens with a criminal conviction," and "Enforcing our nation's civil immigration laws." The vocabulary used to define these duties emphasizes control of the immigrant body and even its physical elimination from the nation. This imagines an organized system of identifying and apprehending undocumented immigrants that simply requires fulfilling a checklist rather than engaging in a series of violent and highly charged political activities. This oversimplification is visually reproduced with the video's images.

The video begins with a shot of the torso of a young White male wearing a bulletproof vest and wearing sunglasses while gazing pensively and concernedly into the distance in an exercise of White masculine surveillance and power.

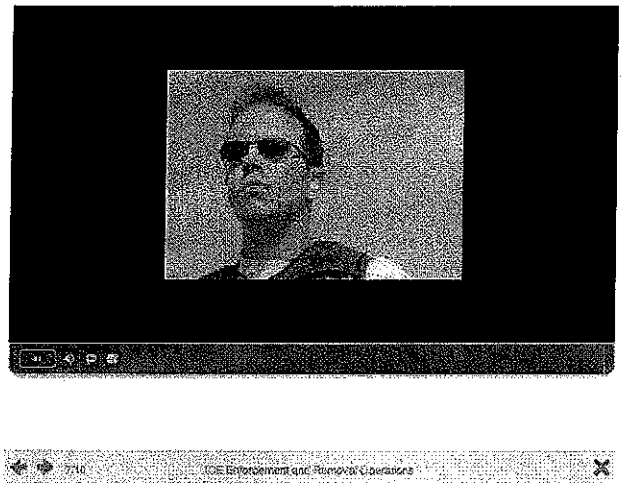

Fig. 26. http://ice.gov, ICE Enforcement and Removal Operations

The music frames his experience as a martial of the state, as the sonic qualities mirror the drum roll of troops being called to action, the soundtrack of heroism in wartime. Images that follow are predominantly of detention facilities that are mostly vacant of humans, beds, tables and chairs neatly ordered in rows. If people are included in the photograph, they are shown passively watching TV, using computers, walking in a straight single-file

line, and one being examined by a smiling doctor as if it were a routine checkup occurring in any town across America.

Passivity is coupled with infantilization of the detainee: in one shot the backs of a group of five individuals is shown watching a TV in the background, and the mural on the wall is of characters in the Nickelodeon cartoon *Rugrats*.

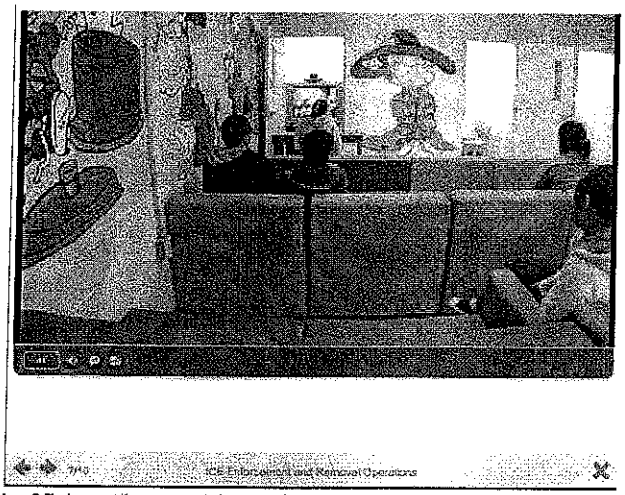

Fig. 27. http://ice.gov, ICE Enforcement and Removal Operations.

It is somewhat bizarre that a detention facility would have these cartoons on the wall, but the overall effect of the photograph succeeds in painting detainees as children, almost in a daycare facility, calmly and submissively watching TV. Just as Ono & Sloop write about Proposition 187's rhetoric reproducing the "notion that the government is strong and that undocumented immigrants...are weak," this image reinforces stereotypes that undermine an individual immigrant's agency.[18] Infantilization of the detainee also occurs in the images of single-file lines of women that are reminiscent of elementary school students being shuffled from one class to the next. Instead of fulfilling the American Dream and exhibiting manifest destiny, the infantilization of immigrants correlates to and necessitates the paternalization of the American state as its nurturing and guiding counterpart which in this case is rendered physically controlling as it confines and regulates movement. The state is visualized here in the first scene of the ICE agent,

looking outward and helping to "protect the safety of the public and the security of the nation," as the narrator states as the video concludes with a wavering American flag. He represents, of course, the American somatic norm image and thus may representatively stand in for the American state itself.

The verbs employed in the captions of this video (there is no narration in this one, only the aforementioned brief subtitles) are all reflective of this paternalism: agents are to manage, provide, target, remove, ensure, enforce and identify. Some of these entail physicality – remove, enforce – while others are tasks that may be more intellectual or ideological. All, however, demand surveillance and control, a discourse that is suggestive of a colonial mentality with regards to treatment of the native population, similarly infantilized as well. Like in colonial contexts, policing the immigrant/native body is of utmost importance in "protect[ing] the safety of the public and the security of the nation," which by relying on Eurocentric paradigms of nationhood and personhood, are inconsistent and engaged in constant struggle with non-Eurocentric value systems and cultures. The site of the detention center reproduces this struggle, and the confinement of immigrant bodies becomes a catalyst for the continuation of Eurocentric hegemony, exerting power over those who engage in long-standing practices of transnational migration.

The images on ICE's website are tremendously physical in the way in which the agents corporally do violence to those they are apprehending in raids, arrests and in 'providing' for detainees. One instance is the following photograph in which an ICE agent stands, his back to the camera, facing a wall in which a row of men are standing, also backs to the camera, facing a wall in a submissive position. They are in an outdoor

and public area at night. A similar image shows an ICE agent forcing a perpetrator to his knees to arrest him.

Fig. 28. http://ice.gov, Investigating: gang activity.

Even an image in a doctor's office demonstrates the physical power of the (female) doctor over the (male) immigrant. These corporal manipulations indicate ICE's penchant for spectacularizing the power of the somatic norm image over the 'othered' foreigner. It is interesting to think about the role of the photographer in these images, whose level of theatricality effectively renders them as sets. The photographer doubly theatricalizes not as a photojournalist, but as a photographer whose jobs aims to uphold ICE's power to exert physical control over immigrants. By photographing these exercises in citizenship and somatic normhood, the photographer makes domination and submission visible.

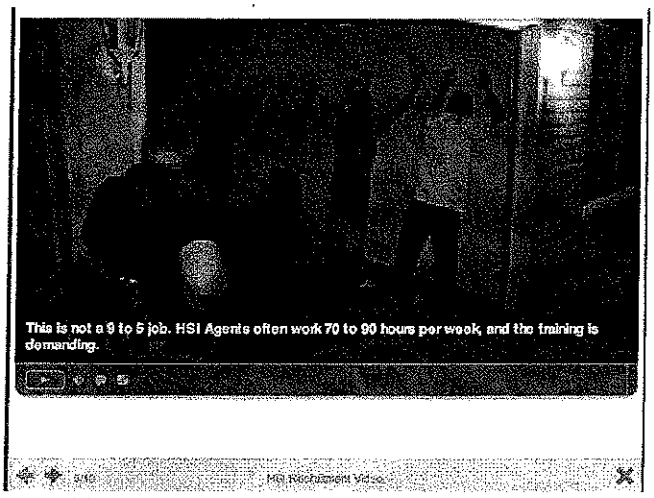

Fig. 29. http://ice.gov, This is not a 9 to 5 job. HSI Agents often work 70 to 90 hours per week, and the training is demanding.

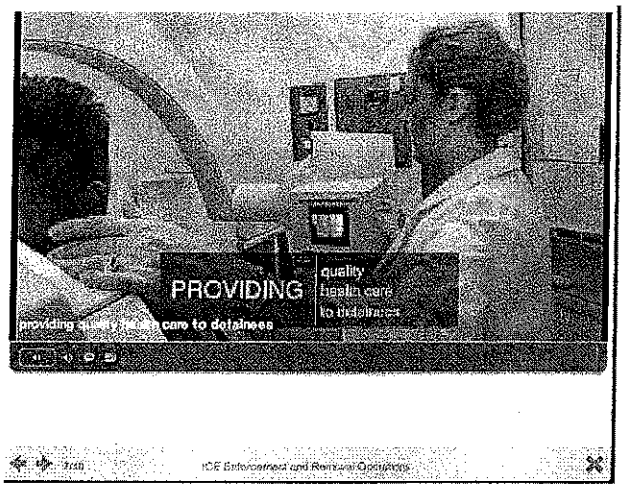

Fig. 30. http://ice.gov, Providing quality health care to detainees.

These particular photographs do not show the immigrant's face, and thus doubly dehumanize: first, by allowing the viewing only of an immigrant's gender and manner of dress, typifying the immigrant criminal as not White and tattooed, and second, by singularizing the immigrant's identity to conform to the somatic norm image of criminality.

The images put forth in HSI's Recruitment video and the ERO instructive video demonstrate the privilege associated with somatic normhood. This privilege is exerted through the power to corporally manipulate those than defy the norm, categorize and dominate others. It is interesting to note that although ICE does portray citizens of color in their videos, they are always doing paperwork and inside offices, with the exception of the two agents who are given speaking roles. Never are these agents given acting roles of forcing immigrants to submit to their power as the White and mostly male agents are. The real privilege of citizenship, to dominate those who do not have it, is forcefully aligned in these images with White heteropatriarchy. Therefore, while borders that define the outer limits of citizenship may shift, a citizen and an immigrant's relationship to the American state is still defined in racial terms. The U.S. government's employment of images that are so forcefully aligned with commonly held stereotypes about non-White

peoples demonstrates how unqualified citizenship and access to its full rights might be something that, since 1965, individuals of any race can legally obtain. However, the type of "collective cultural identity" Linda Bosniak (2000) describes as one definition of citizenship that would permit the inclusion of images of people of color in the Andersonian imagined community, thus eliminating practices of de-Americanization and qualms that non-Whites are not *real* Americans, remains deferred.

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[1] George J. Sanchez, "Race, Nation, and Culture in Recent Immigration Studies." *Journal of American Ethnic History* 18.4 (1999), p. 74.
[2] "Foreign-Born Population - CPS March 2009 Detailed Tables." *Census Bureau Home Page*. Web. 09 Apr. 2011. <http://www.census.gov/population/www/socdemo/foreign/cps2009.html>.
[3] Massey, Durand and Malone, p. 43.
[4] Ibid., p. 46.
[5] *Washington Post*, 21 June 1983.
[6] Peter Andreas, *Border Games: Policing the U.S.-Mexico Divide* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2000), p. 87.
[7] Christopher Rudolph, *National Security and Immigration: Policy Development in the United States and Western Europe since 1945* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 2006), p. 62.
[8] Andreas, p. 144.
[9] Massey, Durand and Malone, p. 93.
[10] Ibid., p. 45.
[11] Joseph Nevins, *Operation Gatekeeper: the Rise of the "Illegal Alien" and the Making of the U.S./Mexico Boundary* (New York: Routledge, 2002), p. 172.
[12] California Rural Legal Assistance Foundation, cited in Hing, p. 191.
[13] María Jiménez. "Humanitarian Crisis: Migrant Deaths of the U.S./Mexico Border," 1 October 2009. Paper co-published by the ACLU of San Diego & Imperial Counties and Mexico's National Commission of Human Rights, p. 17.
[14] "Victims - Hate Crime Statistics, 2008." *FBI — Federal Bureau of Investigation Homepage*. Web. 09 Apr. 2011. <http://www2.fbi.gov/ucr/hc2008/victims.html>.
[15] "Victims – Hate Crime Statistics, 2000." *FBI – Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reporting*. Web. 09 Apr. 2011. <http://www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/ucr/hate-crime/2000>.
[16] Hing, p. 260.
[17] *The New York Times*, 14 October 2007.
[18] Ono & Sloop, p. 92.

The spectacle, the panoptic and the fetish

This project has aimed to demonstrate the degree to which photography has construed American identity as inherently based on imagery, employing four specific photographic examples of immigrants to show how racial formations within U.S. borders have worked to distribute citizenship, power and resources along racial lines. This speaks to the racialized politics of American citizenship as engrained in exercises of 'protecting the nation' that arise when the boundaries of privilege, inextricably linked with Whiteness and especially White manhood, are questioned. Anderson's concept of the 'imagined community' is useful in that it reinforces the importance of image-ing national identity, the guiding principle of which is White heteropatriarchy, in order to ensure the success of a nation-state. This has interesting implications for nation-states as institutions, as they necessitate the envisioning of excluded populations, 'others' who cannot access the same privileges citizens can. In looking at American history specifically, as this study has done, it is clear that this 'othering' of those outside the national community has involved an intensive process of racialization due to the fact that citizenship was for so long a title only accessible by Whites. As we have passed through the age where this was legally reified, and now inhabit a period where many different racial groups can naturalize as U.S. citizens, it has simultaneously become abundantly clear that the real privileges of citizenship are ones that nonetheless largely remain in White communities.

I recall William V. Flores' contention that a separation between legal status and membership is crucial: "being a citizen guarantees neither full membership in society nor equal rights. To be a full citizen one must be welcomed and accepted as a full member of the society with all of its rights."[1] The effective hoarding of the full rights of citizenship

is profoundly involved with the somatic norm image of America, which maintains that those who defy heteropatriarchy are not *real* Americans. The legal disfranchisement of these communities reflects our society's investment in ensuring that equal rights are not equally accessible. Of course, I acknowledge the fact that America has made significant strides in extending, at least nominally, equal citizenship to traditionally marginalized groups, but there are many all too recent examples of our nation's juridical and social tendency to fight the quotidian manifestations of this broadened conception of equal rights.

Some of these examples are mentioned in this study, but I encourage others to also theorize the ways in which their actions support the standardization of American identity as one that represses more individuals than it empowers. Indeed, even if one does ascribe to the American somatic norm image, it is nonetheless essential to consider the ways in which that privilege is based on the subordination of other groups of humans, citizens and foreigners alike, because the very idea of privilege necessitates the idea that there is someone else lacking it. Perhaps this kind of self-reflection will lead to the realization that devaluing and oppressing 'othered' groups denies our ability to understand and relate to each other as individuals and as humans. The alternative and existent model, with which this study is invested in exposing, employs images to powerfully construct stereotypes as a justification for consolidating privilege in certain hands.

Stereotypes emerge in this way as objectifications because they do not consider the totality of an individual, but instead prefigure the existence of that individual by "legends, stories, history and above all, *historicity*" that frame stereotypes and give them

the appearance of possessing truth.[2] In Franz Fanon's experience, this prefiguration meant that he was "battered down by" racial stereotypes: "tom-toms, cannibalism, intellectual deficiency, fetishism, racial defects, slave-ships, and above all: 'Sho good eatin'.'" For Fanon, understanding the fact that his body represented these stereotypes meant that he had "made [himself] an object."[3] These statements have profound implications for photography because of the fact that it reformats the image of a human body and produces it as an object: a photograph that can be bought, sold, manipulated, archived, collected and destroyed. Here Coco Fusco's assertion comes into view that displays photographs as fetishistic objects: "personal collections of...images of racial others as types symbolically linked the acquisition of racial knowledge with the possession of other people as things...these images offer a vicarious sense of power."[4]

This power is one that is first physically exercised by the photographer over the subject, but then ideologically exercised by state over its citizens through the processes of archiving photographs of certain events, certain individuals and not others. The power first experienced by the photographer is one that Susan Sontag describes as an attempt to "colonize new experiences or find new ways to look at familiar subjects – to fight against boredom. For boredom is just the reverse side of fascination: both depend on being outside rather than inside a situation, and one leads to the other."[5] The practice of photographing the 'othered' immigrant is indeed fetishistic in this regard, as it always 'types' in some way, stripping the subject of agency and thus dis-empowers.[6] Because of this tradition in photographing immigrants, as well as the collection and archiving of those images, my analysis of them also may deny their agency as I theorize their

positioning in popular media without incorporating the voices of any of those photographed.

Objectification via corporal control also imbues practices of fetishizing. Pegler-Gordon states that the "pleasure of viewing" Sherman's photographs, without which this project would not exist, "derives from the experience not of witnessing the other but of witnessing the other in America": the spectacle of difference in close proximity to the norm produces fetish.[7] His portraits, as well as the photographs and news reports in *Life* of Japanese internment and of undocumented immigrants on ICE's website all convey the degree to which the spectacle of the immigrant image inside national borders is consumed ferociously and fetishistically. According to Guy Debord, "the spectacle's form and content are identically the total justification of the existing system's conditions and goals."[8] The spectacle that takes place on the U.S./Mexico border signals it as a key site of theatricality in which the image-ing of "crossings, invasions, lines of defense, high-tech surveillance" and other performances are "symbolic ritual[s]" the American public consumes through popular culture to grasp a sense of national identity in an increasingly transnational and globalized world.[9] This sentimental investment in the 'border spectacle' is indeed the "total justification" for our "system's conditions and goals," that is, the nation-state's construction of national identity around capitalistic and militarized spectacle. Symbolically, the spectacle is fetishized as the most salient representation of the nation-state's sovereignty in 'crisis' today. However, the social violence this spectacle communicates is understood ahistorically and in a decontextualized manner, thus further objectifying the bodies that take part in the ritualistic theatricality of penetration and protection in that space: the fetishization and

consumption of this spectacle always occurs, much like the rituals of viewing new immigrants in Ellis Island's Great Hall, from a safe distance, and no physical contact is made.

The state of national emergency that this spectacle proclaims is not exceptional in American history, but rather a consistent political tool for sustaining White privilege over the rights of citizenship. Whether the 'national security threat' narrative is one that interns Japanese Americans, establishes national origins quotas as in the Emergency Quota Act of 1921 or the 1924 Johnson-Reed Act, or constructs Latin Americans as unhygienic criminals, its rhetoric is deployed and recycled over time to uphold the status quo of heteropatriarchy and White privilege in American society. Even though we may not call ourselves eugenicists today, understanding the origins of the immigrant threat narrative as coalescing around eugenics is essential to understanding the xeno-racist justifications we hear today concerning immigrants as backwards, nonsensical, criminal, unproductive or subhuman 'aliens.' Although this argument attacks the cultural tenets of various immigrant groups instead of the biological or genetic inferiority, the rationale remains the same: that the only 'desirable' citizens, the only 'real' Americans, are those who subscribe to the somatic norm image. This is not, as many restrictionists believe, an argument about assimilation, because there never has been a unified American culture. It is, however, a central precept of maintaining racial hierarchies so that they are not challenged. Those with power and rights are not asked to share.

Sherman's portraiture powerfully insinuates this exercise of White masculine privilege over 'othered' immigrants: he physically isolates the subject, groups them into racial categories, families or genders, and thus renders his subjects "specimens for

scrutiny."[10] This physical act implies the way Sherman used notions of borders between immigrants to construct the frame for his documentation, from which he himself reaps power as an organizer, categorizing immigrants in ways that are not natural. Composing a photograph thus always indicates the existence of power relations between photographer and subject even in the simple act of making the subject widely visible as a "specimen for scrutiny," which is, to be sure, a kind of dehumanizing act where the human becomes the specimen. Pegler-Gordon's introductory statement that "the history of U.S. immigration policy has been the history of making immigrants visible" recalls Foucault's (1977) understanding of photography as a method of surveillance and therefore control through constant visibility of the subject.[11]

Photography's role in constructing race and this construction's invocation in immigration policy is depictive of his theory of panopticism as the modern nation-state's need to observe, normalize and categorize to maximize state efficiency. In this interpretation, the dissemination of photographs of those who deviate from the American norm is a tool of panopticism because it increases self-governing: citizens are shown that they must conform to the standards of behavior, speech, dress, even physical appearance and codes of socializing to maintain the privileges of citizenship. The ultimate incarnation of this surveillance is the "supervisor in a central tower to shut up in each cell a madman, a patient, a condemned madman, a worker or a schoolboy" or an immigrant[12]: the ICE agent we see in the introduction of the Enforcement and Removal Operations training video wearing sunglasses and a bulletproof vest.

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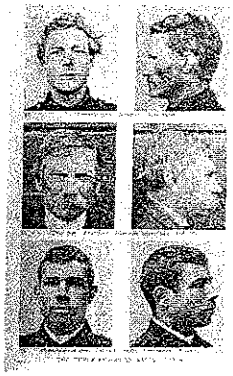
[1] Flores, p. 255.
[2] Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (New York: Grove, 1967), p. 112.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Fusco, p. 42.

[5] Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (Harmondsworth: Pengiun, 1978), pp. 153-180 in Evans and Hall, eds., 42.
[6] Homi K. Bhabha, "The Other Question: The Stereotype and Colonial Discourse," *Screen* 24.4 (1983), pp. 18-36.
[7] Pegler-Gordon, p. 136.
[8] Guy Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle* (New York: Zone, 1994), p. 33.
[9] Rosaldo, p. 33.
[10] Mesenhöller, p. 7.
[11] Pegler-Gordon, p. 1.
[12] Foucault, p. 200.

Appendix



Appendix Fig. 1. Unidentified photographer(s). *The Three European Racial Types*, ca. 1899. Messenholler, p. 9.

Appendix Fig. 2. Augustus Frederick Sherman, Dutch siblings from the Island of Marken, holding religious tracts.

Appendix Fig. 3. Augustus Frederick Sherman, Russian giant.

Appendix Fig. 4. Augustus Frederick Sherman, Perumall Sammy : Subramaino Pillay : Thumbu Sammy. All arrived on SS 'Adriatic' April 14, 1911.

Appendix Fig. 5. Augustus Frederick Sherman, Perumall Sammy, Hindoo, ex SS 'Adriatica [Second Cabin] April 14, 1911, certified for 'congenital deformity of the abdomen,' two arms and legs being joined to the abdomen in the region of the umbilicus.

Appendix Fig. 6. Augustus Frederick Sherman, Subramaino Pillay (right) and two microcephalics.

Appendix Fig. 7. Augustus Frederick Sherman, Burmese.

Appendix Fig. 9. *Life* Magazine, In the cooperative barbershop, haircuts cost 15 cents, shaves 10 cents. Together the beauty parlor (opposite page) and the barbershop take in $2,750 a month. The Tule Lake Japanese live in communal life. They eat together, have their haircuts together, shop together, have their shoes repaired together. There is very little privacy either for the adults or for the children.

Appendix Fig. 8. *Life* Magazine, The Manji family, in their Tule Lake apartment, are all classed as disloyal. The father, 62 (at far right), came to the U.S. from Yamaguchi, Japan, in 1904. He became a rice farmer in Nelson, Calif. where he and hisf amily were living when war came. His wife (to the left) arrived here in 1918. The children are all U.S. citizens by birth. From left to right around the table they are Masako, 22, June, 16, Jullian, 20, Grace, 18. On the floor are Terry, 14, Makoto, 11 and Miporu, 9. On the bookshelf stand photographs of two more sons, both in the U.S. Army.

Appendix Fig. 10. *Life* Magazine, Waiting stolidly, five thousand *braceros*, shown in a picture taken with a panoramic camera, fill a Mexicali street at the border opening.

Appendix Fig. 11. *Life* Magazine, At work picking carrots for Joe Maggio Company in Imperial Valley is *bracero*. Mexicans do not mind bending and the sun does not bother them.

Appendix Fig. 12. *Life* Magazine, Lolling luxuriously in hammock, Toni reads the paper. He is well educated and speaks good English but was careful to conceal this from border officials. New job is a clerk with mining company.

Appendix Fig. 13. Sharron Angle campaign video, 2010, Illegal aliens

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